

The Order of the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion

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It is quite common in the study of the history of liturgy to find that peripheral sources reflect unusual or archaic usage that remains unattested in sources from the cultural center. In the case of the Byzantine Rite, the relationship of periphery to center is one of Slavia Orthodoxa—as well as South Italian, Georgian, and Palestinian Syriac liturgical sources—to Constantinople. Russian sources in particular tend to be useful in identifying such peripheral peculiarities. For example, the corpus of early Russian horologia dating to the thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries describes a more archaic version of the Liturgy of the Hours than what is found in contemporaneous Constantinopolitan—or even Athonite and South Italian—sources, and so far remains our only direct evidence of what the Studite Liturgy of the Hours may have been like.¹ Among this corpus of early Russian horologia we find an even more curious source, a parchment manuscript dated to the second half of the thirteenth century and preserved today at the Yaroslavl State Museum-Reserve (Ярославский государственный музей-заповедник) with the shelf code 15481,² which contains various offices and

prayers absent from other early Russian horologia. This manuscript, commonly referred to as the “Yaroslavl Horologion,” has been extensively studied by Slavic philologists,³ but so far has largely escaped the attention of liturgical scholars, as it was unknown to Evfimy Diakovskii,⁴ author of the seminal study on the Hours and Typica in the Byzantine Rite. The scholarship to date has reached contradictory results, concluding, for example, that the Yaroslavl Horologion reflects Latin influences⁵ and even contains prayers from a Slavonic breviary;⁶ that it contains original Slavonic material composed at the monastery of the Kiev Caves;⁷ or that it testifies to a horologion composed by St. Cyril of Turov

one folio from this manuscript is preserved in Moscow at the State Historical Museum (SHM), Bars. 347 (ibid., no. 386).

3 A full bibliography of this source, analysis of the conclusions of the various scholars, and an item-by-item description of its contents have been recently published by Dalmat (Yudin), “Istoriia i problemy opisaniia Iaroslavskogo Chasoslova XIII v.,” *Bogoslovskii vestnik* 37.2 (2020): 258–92. I thank Hieromonk Dalmat (Yudin) for an advance copy of his paper and helpful comments about my own research.

4 E. P. Diakovskii, *Posledovanie chasov i izobrazitel'nykh: Istoriicheskoe issledovanie* (Kiev, 1913).

5 N. N. Bedina, “Iaroslavskii chasoslov XIII veka: Dialog traditsii,” *Iazyk i tekst* 1.4 (2014): 17–22.

6 A. S. Raevskii, “O Chasoslove biblioteki Iaroslavskogo arkhierieskogo doma XIII v.,” in *Trudy XI Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda v Kieve*, vol. 2, *Protokoly* (Moscow, 1902), 72–73, at 72.

7 N. N. Bedina, “Iaroslavskii chasoslov XIII veka.” Of the prayers in the manuscript, we can only say with certainty that the Prayers of St. Cyril of Turov are Slavonic in origin; see: E. B. Rogachevskaia,

1 A comprehensive study of the Slavonic Studite horologion is still lacking. For an introduction and description of the sources, see E. E. Sliva, “Chasoslovy studiiskoi traditsii v slavianskikh spiskakh XIII–XV vv.,” *TODRL* 51 (1999): 91–106.

2 See *Svodnyi katalog slaviano-russkikh rukopisnykh knig, khra-nishchikhsia v SSSR. XI–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1984), 320, no. 387;

and intended for private cell prayer.⁸ Only recently has the Yaroslavl Horologion been subjected to study using the methods of comparative liturgy, both within the context of other Slavonic Studite horologia⁹ and within the broader context of Byzantine collections of psalms for private prayer.¹⁰ In this paper I undertake an extensive comparative study of the order of the Hours as they are recorded in the Yaroslavl Horologion. I investigate the selection of psalms at each of the Hours and look for possible analogues in Byzantine sources, placing the structure of the Hours within the context of the history of the Hours and Mid-Hours in the Byzantine Rite and analyzing the selection of prayers and hymns recorded at the Hours.

Sources for Comparative Study

It makes sense to consider the structure and content of the Yaroslavl Horologion in the context, first of all, of contemporaneous Slavonic sources. These early Russian Slavonic horologia of the thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries were first studied by Evgeny Sliva as the “Studite Horologion”;¹¹ Stig Frøyshov engages this set of sources as well, labeling them STUD.GROUPa.¹² These manuscripts are presented in tables 1 and 2. Though studied as one group, these sources are, in fact, not homogeneous in terms of the structure of the Hours, as demonstrated below. Of particular interest for the present study are those sources that contain

Mid-Hours: NLR, O.п.I.2, Q.п.I.57, and Sof. 1052. The manuscripts IRLI, Kar. 476; NLR, F.п.I.73; RSAAD, Tip. 46, 47, 48, and 76; and Sinai, Slav. 13, contain Hours, but no Mid-Hours. The manuscript SHM, Sin. 325, contains only the text of the Ninth Hour, while the folios with the First, Third, and Sixth Hours have been lost.¹³

The selection of Greek sources for comparison is somewhat complicated by the absence of a well-developed typology of the Greek horologion.¹⁴ It appears that the closest Greek analogues to the Slavonic Studite sources are to be found among the South Italian horologion manuscripts that S. Frøyshov has called STUD.GROUPc:¹⁵ Grottaferrata, Γ.α.V (twelfth to thirteenth century), and Γ.α.VIII (twelfth century), and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gr. 320 (thirteenth century), to which we can also add Grottaferrata, Γ.α.VI (fourteenth century). However, it should be noted that these do not correspond entirely to the Slavonic Studite sources and do not reflect the pure Studite tradition: at Matins they contain the doxology in the Constantinopolitan redaction, rather than in the Jerusalem redaction,¹⁶ while the office of Typica is placed after the Sixth Hour, rather than after the Ninth Hour.¹⁷

Tsiki molitv Kirilla Turovskogo: Teksty i issledovaniia (Moscow, 1999), esp. 16–17, 21, 177–91.

8 M. Speranskii, “Iaroslavs’kii zbirnik XIII v.,” in *Naukovii zbirnik za rik 1924*, Zapiski Ukrain’s’kogo naukovoogo tovaristva v Kiiv 19 (Kiev, 1925), 29–36.

9 E. E. Sliva, “O nekotorykh tserkovnoslavianskikh Chasoslovakh XIII–XIV vv. (osobennosti sostava),” in *Rus’ i iuzhnye slaviane: Sbornik statei k 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia V. A. Moshina (1894–1987)* (St. Petersburg, 1998), 185–97; idem, “Chasoslovy studiiskoi traditsii v slavianskikh spiskakh XIII–XV vv.”

10 S. R. Frøyshov, “Dvenadsati psalmov chin,” in *Pravoslavnaia entsiklopediia*, 58 vols. (Moscow, 2000–), 14:232–34.

11 Sliva, “Chasoslovy studiiskoi traditsii v slavianskikh spiskakh XIII–XV vv.”

12 S. R. Frøyshov, “Erlangen University Library A2, A.D. 1025: A Study of the Oldest Dated Greek Horologion,” in *Rites and Rituals of the Christian East: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Lebanon, 10–15 July, 2012*, ed. B. Groen, D. Galadza, N. Glibetic, and G. Radle (Leuven, 2014), 201–53, at 208.

13 A. V. Gorskii and K. I. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavianskikh rukopisei Moskovskoi Sinodal’noi biblioteki*, vol. 3.1, *Knigi bogoslužebnye* (Moscow, 1869), 538–39.

14 An overview of the extant manuscript evidence is presented in G. R. Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters ca. 850–1350 AD* (Plovdiv, 2014), 101–26, and passim, esp. appendix B2.

15 Frøyshov, “Erlangen University Library A2, A.D. 1025.”

16 The presence of the Constantinopolitan doxology is a feature of the later “first” redaction of the Studite Synaxarion that formed the basis of, e.g., the Evergetis Typicon, and the “second” redaction at the core of South Italian and Athonite Typica. Slavic worship, in principle, followed the Studite-Alexis Typicon, which always calls for the Jerusalem doxology at Matins (except for Great Saturday). On this, see A. M. Pentkovskii, “Studiiskii ustav i ustavy studiiskoi traditsii,” *ZhMP* 5 (2001): 69–80; idem, “Vizantiiskoe bogoslužhenie,” in *Pravoslavnaia entsiklopediia*, 8:380–88. In practice, however, some of the manuscripts of the Slavonic Studite horologion—RSAAD, Tip. 46 and 76, and Sinai, Slav. 13—only contain the Constantinopolitan doxology and so do not reflect the pure Studite usage either.

17 The placement of the Typica following the Ninth Hour reflects their original position in Palestinian sources (see J. Mateos, “Un horologion inédit de St.-Sabas: Le Codex sinaitique grec 863 [IX^e siècle],” in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, ST 233, 7 vols. [Vatican City, 1964], 3:47–77, esp. 54–55). According to the Studite-Alexis Typicon, the Typica are performed after the Ninth Hour on fast

Table 1. Slavonic Studite Horologion Manuscripts

Shelf Code	Dating	Mid-Hours
IRLI, Kar. 476, and RASL, Arkheogr. 171 ¹	Fifteenth century	
NLR, F.п.I.73	Fourteenth century	
NLR, O.п.I.2	Fourteenth century	×
NLR, Q.п.I.57, and Sinai, Slav. 41/N ²	Thirteenth century	×
NLR, Sof. 1052	Fourteenth century	×
RSAAD, Tip. (coll. 381) 46	Fourteenth century	
RSAAD, Tip. (coll. 381) 47	Fourteenth century	
RSAAD, Tip. (coll. 381) 48	Fourteenth century	
RSAAD, Tip. (coll. 381) 76	Fourteenth century	
SHM, Sin. 325	Fourteenth century	
Sinai, Slav. 13	Thirteenth to fourteenth century	

¹ That IRLI, Kar. 476, and RASL, Arkheogr. 171, are two parts of one manuscript was demonstrated by E. E. Sliva, “Uslyshim sviatago Evangeliiia Nekotorye osobennosti utrennei sluzhby po dvum pergamennym rukopisiam XV v.: BAN, sobr. Arkheograficheskoi komissii, No. 171 i IRLI, Karel'skoe sobr., No. 476,” in *Opyty po istochnikovedeniiu: Drevnerusskaia knizhnost': arkheografiia, paleografiia, kodikologiia* (St. Petersburg, 1999), 136–47.

² That Sinai, Slav. 41/N, provides the first missing folio of NLR, Q.п.I.57, was argued by M. A. Momina, “Rets. na: I. Tarnanidis. The Slavonic Manuscripts, Discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai,” *Voprosy iazykoznaniiia* 6 (1999): 141–48, at 146. One further folio from the same manuscript is preserved as NLR, Q.п.I.38 (see *Svodnyi katalog*, 285, no. 321).

Table 2. Institutional Abbreviations

BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
EBE	National Library of Greece (Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος), Athens
IRLI	Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Институт русской литературы Российской академии наук [ИРЛИ РАН]), St. Petersburg
NLR	National Library of Russia (Российская национальная библиотека [РНБ]), St. Petersburg
RASL	Russian Academy of Sciences Library (Библиотека Российской академии наук [БАН]), St. Petersburg
RSAAD	Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents (Российский государственный архив древних актов [РГАДА]), Moscow
RSL	Russian State Library (Российская государственная библиотека [РГБ]), Moscow
SHM	State Historical Museum (Государственный исторический музей [ГИМ]), Moscow

In addition to the South Italian sources it is useful to draw on two earlier sources that contain Mid-Hours: the Syro-Palestinian horologion Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. Oct. 1019 (SYRO-P; dated 1187),¹⁸ and the Greek horologion Athos, Vatopedi, 1248 (VATO; dated 1075).¹⁹ SYRO-P is the earliest witness to the Mid-Hours as they are found in the present Byzantine Rite, a fact that probably betrays their Palestinian origin.²⁰ The text of the doxology at Matins is absent from this document, while the Typica follow the Sixth Hour. VATO appears to be our earliest witness to Mid-Hours as such, though the selection of psalms at the Mid-Hours and their structure differ considerably from those in the modern Byzantine Rite.²¹ The Typica are placed after the Ninth Hour, but the doxology appears in the Constantinopolitan redaction.

One further document is of interest, as it reflects the later usage of the Studion Monastery in Constantinople: the Hypotyposis (ὑποτύπωσις εὐσύνοπτος τοῦ ἡμερονυκτίου τῆς ἀκολουθίας τῶν ὥρων) of Nicetas Stethatus (HYPO),²² written in the last quarter of the eleventh century and reflecting the

daily routine of a Studite monk. This is our only Studite source that mentions the Mid-Hours, which in this document are still semi-private prayer rules: the First Hour and its Mid-Hour (though not labeled as such in the document itself) as well as the Third and Sixth Hours, are sung in the cells; the Mid-Hours of the Third and Sixth Hours are sung by catechumens and penitent monks outside of the main church during the Liturgy; the Ninth Hour is also performed in the cells and is followed by its Mid-Hour, which is sung on the way to church for Vespers.²³

The Byzantine Selection of Twelve Psalms

The Yaroslavl Horologion has been preserved only in part and contains a portion of the twelve-hour daytime cursus from the Seventh Hour to the Twelfth Hour, the office of Typica (placed after the Twelfth Hour), Vespers, and portions of Compline.²⁴ The nighttime Hours—if they were present in this manuscript originally—have been lost. None of the sources identified in the previous section has such a twelve-hour daytime cursus. However, horologia containing a twenty-four-hour cursus—twelve Hours of the day and twelve Hours of the night—are represented by a variety of other Greek sources, the most famous of which is the manuscript Athens, EBE 15 (twelfth century), studied by Ioannis Phountoules.²⁵ Though Phountoules thought that this twenty-four-hour horologion reflected the worship of the “sleepless” monks in Constantinople, Frøyshov has argued that the distribution of psalms over the period of twenty-four hours that it contains is related to the “ancient cursus of 24 psalms, variety α,” the earliest example of

days (see A. M. Pentkovskii, *Tipikon patriarkha Aleksiia Studita v Vizantii i na Rusi* [Moscow, 2001], 239, 276). The placement of the Typica following the Sixth Hour must be connected with the practice of performing the Ninth Hour together with Vespers, as is described in the section “On How to Call [to the Services]” in the Jerusalem Typica. The earliest version of this section may be found in Sinai, Greek 1094 (published in A. Lossky, “Le typicon byzantin: Édition d’une version grecque partiellement inédite; analyse de la partie liturgique” [Phd diss., Université Marc Bloch, 1987], 141). As far as I can tell, the same practice is called for by the South Italian Typica (see M. Arranz, *Le typicon du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine: Codex Messinensis Gr 115* [Rome, 1969], xlv).

18 Edited, with English translation, in M. Black, ed., *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion* (Cambridge, 1954).

19 Partially described by Diakovskii (labeled no. 350/984; eleventh century): *Posledovanie chasov i izobrazitel'nykh*, x, 124. The manuscript has since been dated exactly: Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, appendix B2.

20 The Hours and Mid-Hours in SYRO-P are studied extensively in C. Lutzka, *Die Kleinen Horen des byzantinischen Stundengebetes und ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung*, Forum orthodoxe Theologie 7 (Berlin, 2007), 47–52.

21 For a partial analysis of this source, see S. R. Frøyshov, “Chasoslov bez posledovaniia Bol'shikh Chasov (vecherni i utreni): Issledovanie nedavno izdannogo Chasoslova Sin. gr. 864 (IX v.) (Okonchanie),” *Bogoslovskie trudy* 45 (2012–13): 272–307, at 289–90.

22 Preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarke 2 (thirteenth century), and edited by Parpulov: *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, 277–301.

23 For an analysis of the Hypotyposis, see D. Krausmüller, “Private vs. Communal: Niketas Stethatos’s *Hypotyposis* for Studios, and Patterns of Worship in Eleventh-Century Byzantine Monasteries,” in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis, 1050–1200*, Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 6.2 (Belfast, 1997), 309–28, at 317–20.

24 The manuscript begins on fol. 5; fols. 1–4 came detached from the fifty-seventh quire and were later reattached to the beginning of the manuscript. See A. S. Raevskii, “O Chasoslove biblioteki Iaroslavskogo arkhieiskogo doma XIII v.,” 72. See also Dalmat (Yudin), “Istoriia i problemy opisaniia Iaroslavskogo Chasoslova XIII v.”

25 I. M. Phountoules, “Εικοσιτετράωρον ὥρολόγιον,” in *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ νυχθημέρου, Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς 1* (Thessalonike, 1994), 329–421.

Table 3. Distribution of Psalms at the Daytime Hours

Ancient Cursus, Variety α (Codex Alexandrinus)	Ancient Cursus, Variety β (Paris, BNF, Grec 331)	Yaroslavl Horologion
8	First Hour: 69, 8, 50	
29	Second Hour: 29	
1	Third Hour: 30	
41	Fourth Hour: 41	
50	Fifth Hour: 39	
70	Sixth Hour: 6	
69	Seventh Hour: 65	Seventh Hour: (?), 21
4	Eighth Hour: 76	Eighth Hour: 58, 68
111	Ninth Hour: 114	Ninth Hour: 83, 84, 85
140	Tenth Hour: 150	Tenth Hour: 39, 98, 115
108	Eleventh Hour: 110	Eleventh Hour: 55, 139
120	Twelfth Hour: 69, 111, 50	Twelfth Hour: 87, 144

which we find in the Codex Alexandrinus (London, British Library, Royal I.D.vii; fifth century) and which is, presumably, of an Egyptian origin.²⁶ A similar distribution of twenty-four psalms (the “ancient cursus, variety β ”) may be observed in the Greek manuscripts Paris, BNF, Grec 331 (eleventh century), and Lesbos, Leimonos, 295 (twelfth century).²⁷ We find various elements of the twenty-four psalms also in the manuscripts Sinai, Greek 864 (ninth century; contains an acolouthia of twelve nighttime psalms),²⁸ Sinai, Greek 868 (twelfth to fourteenth century; the daytime cursus is spread over the Mid-Hours, the nighttime cursus is part of the “acolouthia of the night”),²⁹ Sinai, Greek 869 (thirteenth century), and a number of other sources.³⁰ However, a comparison of the psalms of the “ancient cursus” with the selection of the psalms at the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion reveals that the latter reflects a completely different system of distributing the psalms over the hours of the day than that found in the Greek sources of a twenty-four-hour type (see table 3).

S. Frøyshov also discusses a “new cursus” of twenty-four psalms, which consists of a different distribution of psalms over the Hours and has a presumed Studite (Constantinopolitan) origin. Only the twelve nighttime psalms of this “new cursus,” however, have been identified so far. In the Slavonic Studite horologion, these form part of the office of Great Methemon (Great Compline), as in Q.π.I.57 and O.π.I.2, or the “night-time hours,” as in Sof. 1052. They survive also in modern printed Slavonic liturgical books as the “Office of the Twelve Psalms” intended for private prayer.³¹ We can presume that a similar selection of twelve nighttime psalms was recorded in the now-lost section of the Yaroslavl Horologion. No daytime analogue to the twelve nighttime psalms of the “new cursus” has been identified in the sources, but S. Frøyshov suggests that it may be reflected in the selection of psalms at the daytime Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion, as well as in the selection of psalms at the Mid-Hours of the Studite horologia.³² To answer this question, we must further consider the structure of the Hours and the selection of psalms in the Yaroslavl Horologion in comparison with other Studite sources.

26 Edited in H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1902), 359.

27 Phountoules, “Εικοσιτετράωρον ὁρολόγιον,” 331.

28 M. L. Ajjoub, ed., *Livre d'Heures du Sinai (Sinaiticus graecus 864)*, SC 486 (Paris, 2004), 174–79.

29 Diakovskii, *Posledovanie chasov i izobrazitel'nykh*, 124, 178.

30 For a list, see Frøyshov, “Dvenadsati psalmov chin.”

31 For example, *Kanonnik ili polnyi molitvoslov* (St. Petersburg, 2001), 523 (available at <http://minci.ru/kanonnik/>), and the standard psalter of the Moscow Patriarchate, *Psaltir'* (Moscow, 2011), 410.

32 Frøyshov, “Dvenadsati psalmov chin.”

Table 4. The Structure of the Hours in the Slavonic Studite Horologia

Type I (RSAAD, Tip. 47, Tip. 76; Sinai, Slav. 13)	Type II (RSAAD, Tip. 46, Tip. 48; SHM, Sin. 325)	Type III (NLR, Sof. 1052, O.п.I.2)	Type IV (NLR, Q.п.I.57)
<i>Hours</i>			
Three psalms Glory . . . now Alleluia Responsorium Theotokion Psalmic verse Trisagion prayers “Lord, have mercy”	Three psalms Glory . . . now Alleluia Responsorium Theotokion Psalmic verse Trisagion prayers Prayer 1 Troparion Glory . . . now: Theotokion Prayer 2 “Lord, have mercy”	Three psalms Glory . . . now Alleluia Responsorium Theotokion Psalmic verse Trisagion prayers Prayer 1 “Lord, have mercy”	Three psalms Glory . . . now Alleluia Responsorium Theotokion Psalmic verse Trisagion prayers Prayer 2 Prayer 3 “Lord, have mercy”
<i>Mid-Hours</i>			
—	—	Three psalms [Glory . . . now]? Trisagion prayers Troparion Glory . . . now: Theotokion Prayer 2 “Lord, have mercy”	Three psalms Glory . . . now Trisagion prayers Troparion Glory . . . now: Theotokion Prayer 1 Prayer 4 “Lord, have mercy”

The Structure of the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion

The Slavonic Studite horologia are not a homogeneous group and reflect, perhaps, different stages of evolution from a common prototype. In fact, it is the Hours that best reveal the liturgical differences between the various Slavonic Studite sources, allowing us to classify them into four separate types. These observations are conveniently summarized in table 4.

The simplest structure of the Hours (“Type I”) is found in the manuscripts RSAAD, Tip. 47 and 76, and Sinai, Slav. 13. Each Hour consists of three psalms (the same as those in the modern Byzantine Rite), followed by the responsorium, theotokion, and psalmic verse.³³ The Hour is concluded by the Trisagion prayers and

the multiple “Lord, have mercy.” The Mid-Hours are absent, as are any prayers of the Hour.

The second, somewhat more complex, structure of the Hours (“Type II”) is found in RSAAD, Tip. 46 and 48, and SHM, Sin. 325. Here the Trisagion prayers are followed by a prayer of the Hour, in turn followed by a troparion and theotokion, a second prayer of the Hour, and the multiple “Lord, have mercy.” The Mid-Hours are still absent. There may be some further variation in the prayers: Tip. 46 includes at the First Hour the prayer **ИЖЕ НА ВСАКО ВРЕМЯ** (= ὁ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ) following the prayer of the Hour, then proceeds to the troparion and theotokion, while Sin. 325 contains the incipit of the prayer **ИЖЕ НА ВСАКО ВРЕМЯ** after the first prayer of the Ninth Hour, which probably indicates that this prayer was read at all of the Hours. The manuscripts IRLI, Kar. 476, and NLR, F.п.I.73, have additional features at the Hours that make them transitional from Type I to Type II and from Type II to Type III, respectively, but these details need not concern us here, as they are not relevant to a study of the Yaroslavl Horologion.

33 These elements are studied by H. Husmann, “Hymnus und Troparion: Studien zur Geschichte der musikalischen Gattungen von Horologion und Tropologion,” *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1971): 7–86, at 69–70.

Table 5. The Structure of the Hours in the Slavonic and Greek Sources Studied

Yaroslavl Horologion	Type III	South Italian Sources
<i>Canonical Hours</i>		
Three psalms Glory . . . now Alleluia Responsorium Theotokion Psalmic verse Trisagion prayers Prayer 1 Prayer 2 “Lord, have mercy”	Three psalms Glory . . . now Alleluia Responsorium Theotokion Psalmic verse Trisagion prayers Prayer 1 “Lord, have mercy”	Three psalms Glory . . . now Alleluia Responsorium Theotokion Psalmic verse Trisagion prayers ¹
<i>Minor Hours</i>	<i>Mid-Hours</i>	<i>Mid-Hours</i>
Two or three psalms Glory . . . now Alleluia Troparia Trisagion prayers One or two prayers “Lord, have mercy”	Three psalms [Glory . . . now]? Trisagion prayers Troparion Glory . . . now: Theotokion Prayer 2 “Lord, have mercy”	Two or three psalms Glory . . . now Trisagion prayers Troparion Glory . . . now: Theotokion Prayer “Lord, have mercy” ²

¹ Γ.α.V adds troparia, “Lord, have mercy,” and prayer.² Sometimes reversed: “Lord, have mercy,” then prayer.

The “Type III” manuscripts are those that contain Mid-Hours—NLR, O.π.I.2 and Sof. 1052³⁴—with a structure that betrays an expansion of the Type II Hours. In these manuscripts, the Hours contain only one prayer, which is followed immediately by the multiple “Lord, have mercy.” Then immediately begins the Mid-Hour consisting of three psalms, the Trisagion prayers, a troparion and theotokion, the second prayer of the Hour, and the multiple “Lord, have mercy.” We will see later that the choice of hymnography and prayer at the Mid-Hour agrees with those found at the Type II Hours.

Finally, we find the most complex structure of the Hours (“Type IV”) in NLR, Q.π.I.57. This manuscript contains two prayers at each Hour and Mid-Hour, with the primary prayer (prayer 1) of the Hour typically placed at the Mid-Hour while the secondary prayer

(prayer 2) remains at the Hour itself. To these are added two additional prayers, completely absent from the other horologia. The structure of the Hours that we observe in the Slavonic Studite horologia is quite similar to that found in the various Greek and non-Greek sources: it is also reflected in SYRO-P³⁵ and goes back, at its core, to the Hours recorded in the ninth-century Palestinian source Sinai, Greek 863.³⁶ Of course, it is also reflected in the structure of the Hours in the modern Byzantine Rite at an “Alleluia” service, now commonly served only on the weekdays of Lent. The South Italian horologia also have a similar structure of the Hours, though all of them have Mid-Hours. The most primitive structure is found in the two sources Grottaferrata, Γ.α.VIII, and BSB, Gr. 320: the Mid-Hour immediately follows the Trisagion prayers of the Hour, without any intervening prayers or hymnography, the equivalent, basically, of a Type I Hour with an

³⁴ The proper order of folios in NLR, O.π.I.2, is reconstructed by A. V. Shchepetkin, “Chasoslov XIV v. O.p.I.2 v sravnenii s drugimi drevnerusskimi Chasoslovami,” in *Tserkov’-Bogoslovie–Istoriia: Materialy VII Vserossiiskoi nauchno-bogoslovskoi konferentsii (Ekaterinburg, 8–10 fevralia 2019 g.)* (Yekaterinburg, 2019), 197–208.

³⁵ Lutzka, *Die Kleinen Horen des byzantinischen Stundengebetes*, 49.

³⁶ See the discussion in: J. C. Anderson and S. Parenti, *A Byzantine Monastic Office, 1105 A.D.* (Washington, 2016), 310–11.

added Mid-Hour. A more complex structure, similar to the Type II Hours with an added Mid-Hour, is found in Grottaferrata, Γ.α.V, where the Trisagion prayers are followed by troparia, the multiple “Lord, have mercy,” and a prayer. This is summarized in the rightmost column of table 5.

The sole surviving canonical Hour in the Yaroslavl Horologion is the Ninth, which basically has the same structure as the Type III Hours, except that the Trisagion prayers are followed by two prayers of the Hour, rather than one—these are the same two prayers that we find at the Ninth Hour in the Type II sources. However the Minor Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion differ structurally from the Mid-Hours found in the Slavonic and South Italian sources. The psalms conclude with “Glory . . . now” and “Alleluia” rather than with the more primitive “Glory . . . now,” and the troparia follow the psalms and precede the Trisagion prayers, rather than vice versa. The “Our Father” of the Trisagion prayers is followed by one (at the Eighth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Hours) or two (at the Seventh and Tenth Hours) prayers; the Hour concludes with the multiple “Lord, have mercy.” In sum, the Minor Hours of the Yaroslavl Horologion are structurally closer to the Hours than to the Mid-Hours: the only difference is that the responsorium has been replaced with a troparion, as in the non-Lenten version of the Byzantine Rite. In this way, what we have is a horologion with a large number of Hours, rather than a horologion with a large number of Mid-Hours for the usual canonical Hours.

The Selection of Psalms at the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion

The selection of psalms at the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion and in other sources studied is presented in table 6. All of the sources that I consider here have a tri-psalmonic structure of the canonical Hours, which is standard for the Byzantine Rite.³⁷ The selection of the three psalms is identical in all of the sources and, at its root, goes back to a common selection of psalms for the

Hours found in the early Palestinian sources.³⁸ On the other hand, the selection of psalms at the Mid-Hours shows considerable variety. SYRO-P calls for the same psalms at the Mid-Hours as in the modern Byzantine Rite, except that Psalm 50 is added at each Mid-Hour as a fourth psalm. Meanwhile, VATO represents an entirely different tradition: its only common characteristic with the other sources is the presence of Psalm 50 at the Mid-Hours of the Third and Sixth Hours, but as part of the tri-psalm, rather than as an additional psalm, as in SYRO-P. The South Italian sources represent yet another selection of psalms at the Mid-Hours. Their Mid-Hours have a common core consisting of one psalm (Psalm 91 at the Mid-Hour of the First Hour, Psalm 69 at the Mid-Hour of the Third Hour, Psalm 40 at the Mid-Hour of the Sixth Hour, and Psalm 14 at the Mid-Hour of the Ninth Hour), to which different psalms are added in the different sources for a total of two psalms at each Mid-Hour in Γ.α.VIII and three psalms in Γ.α.V, Γ.α.VI, and BSB, Gr. 320. The selection of these psalms is somewhat varied within the South Italian sources, with Γ.α.V and BSB, Gr. 320, having the most in common. Yet another, though related tradition is reflected in HYPO: here the Mid-Hours include more than three psalms, but at the core of each set of multiple psalms at the Mid-Hour of the First Hour and of the Sixth Hour is the same psalm that forms the core of the Mid-Hour in the South Italian sources (the Mid-Hours of the Third and Ninth Hours are an exception). The Slavonic Studite horologia reflect another tradition altogether. Here the only common element with the other sources is the presence of Psalm 91 at the Mid-Hour of the First Hour, which forms the core of this Mid-Hour in the South Italian sources and HYPO and is also part of this Mid-Hour in the modern Byzantine Rite and SYRO-P. Finally, the Yaroslavl Horologion reflects yet another selection of psalms. The Tenth (and, quite probably, Seventh) Hours in this source have a tri-psalmonic structure, but the selection of psalms only partially agrees with the Mid-Hours in Slavonic Studite sources (at the Seventh Hour, the Yaroslavl Horologion probably did not have Psalm 58—since it is recorded in full at the Eighth Hour—but could very well have had Psalm 2). The selection of psalms at the other Minor Hours—the Eighth, Eleventh, and Twelfth—which

37 A typology of horologia based on the number of psalms at the Hours is provided by S. R. Frøyshov, “Chasoslov bez posledovanii Bol'shikh Chasov (vecherni i utreni): Issledovanie nedavno izdanogo Chasoslova Sin. gr. 864 (IX v.) (Chast' 1),” *Bogoslovskie trudy* 43–44 (2012): 381–400, at 390–91.

38 Such as in Sinai, Greek 863. See Mateos, “Un horologion inédit de St.-Sabas,” 48–53.

have two psalms each, is completely different from all of the other sources, including the selection of psalms in the poly-psalmic HYPO. The Yaroslavl Horologion is thus an entirely unique document, and its selection of psalms is not shared by the other sources studied. At the same time, it appears that we ought to be quite skeptical of the existence of a daytime portion of the “new

cursus” of twenty-four psalms proposed by S. Frøyshov: the only psalm that the sources studied have in common outside of the canonical Hours is Psalm 91, which forms the core of the Mid-Hour of the First Hour in the South Italian sources and HYPO and occurs also at this Mid-Hour in the Slavonic Studite sources, SYRO-P, and the modern Byzantine Rite.

Table 6. The Selection of Psalms at the Hours and Mid-Hours in the Sources Studied

Hour	Yaroslavl Horologion	Slavonic Studite	VATO	South Italian	HYPO	Modern / SYRO-P
First	–	5, 89, 100	–	5, 89, 100	5, 89, 100	5, 89, 100
Mid-Hour of First	–	91, 112, 45	–	Γ.α.VIII: 91, 50 Γ.α.V: 91, 92, 93 BSB 320: 91, 92, 29 Γ.α.VI: 91, 92, 112	91, 112, 69; 7, 93, 94; 60, 101, 106	45, 91, 92 ¹
Third	–	16, 24, 50	–	16, 24, 50	–	16, 24, 50
Mid-Hour of Third	–	18, 32, 60	27, 50, 142	Γ.α.VIII: 55, 69 Γ.α.V: 25, 26, 69 BSB 320: 25, 26, 69 Γ.α.VI: 41, 42, 69	30, 38, 39; 10, 11, 25; 6, 27, 29	29, 31, 60 ¹
Sixth	–	53, 54, 90	53, 54, 90	53, 54, 90	–	53, 54, 90
Mid-Hour of Sixth	–	2, 58, 21	34, 50, 63	Γ.α.VIII: 40, 50 Γ.α.V: 40, 41, 45 BSB 320: 40, 41, 45 Γ.α.VI: 40, 15, 66	40, 41, 42; 65, 76, 114; 45, 66, 51	55, 56, 69 ¹
Seventh	(?), 21	–	–	–	–	–
Eighth	58, 68	–	–	–	–	–
Ninth	83, 84, 85	83, 84, 85	83, 84, 85	83, 84, 85	–	83, 84, 85
Mid-Hour of Ninth	–	98, 115, 68	21, 68, 69	Γ.α.VIII: 14, 50 Γ.α.V: 14, 15, 31 BSB 320: 14, 15, 50 Γ.α.VI: 14, 114, 115	70, 110, 111; 99, 120, 121	112, 137, 139 ¹
Tenth	39, 98, 115	–	–	–	–	–
Eleventh	55, 139	–	–	–	–	–
Twelfth	87, 144	–	–	–	–	–

¹ SYRO-P adds 50.

The Selection of Prayers at the Hours and Mid-Hours

Before proceeding to study the prayers of the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion, I consider in general the prayers at the Hours in the Slavonic Studite sources. Their selection is presented in table 7. Whenever I have been able to determine a Greek equivalent to the prayer contained in the Slavonic source, I have included in parentheses its number according to the list of incipits of prayers in Greek psalters compiled by Georgi Parpulov.³⁹ The base selection of prayers in the Slavonic sources may be found in the horologia with the Type II structure of the Hours. Here we find two cycles of prayers at each Hour: the first consists of the prayers **БЛАГОДАРИЮ ТЯ ГИ БѢ МОИ· И СЛАВЮ ТЯ** (344), **БѢ ЩЕДРЫИ ОУТѢШАИ НАСЪ НА ВСАКЪ УАСЪ** (64), **ГИ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ ВЪ ПОЛДНЕ СПОДОБИТИ СЯ ПРИТИ**, and **БЛАГА БЛАГЮ ТЯ ГИ БѢ МОИ И ПРОСЛАВЮ ИМА ТВОЕ**, which in the Type II sources always occur as the first prayer of the Hour (I call them “prayers of the first cycle”). The second cycle consists of the prayers **ОУЕ СТЫИ ИЖЕ СЛНЦЕ СЫ ПРАВДЬНОЕ** (292), **БѢ СТЫИ ОУТѢШИТЕЛЮ ДУШЕ ИСТИНЬНИ** (353), **ХѢ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ НАШЕГО РАДИ ОСОУЖЕНИИ ПРѢТЪИ РОУЦЪ** (89), and **БЛАГО ГИ ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕННАГО ТВОЕГО УЛѢКОЛЮБИИ** (95), which always occur as the second prayer of the Hour in the Type II sources and are part of the cycle of “prayers of St. Basil the Great.” In the Type III sources the “prayers of the first cycle” always occur at the Hours while the “prayers of St. Basil the Great” have been relocated to the Mid-Hours. An alternative distribution of prayers is found in NLR, Q.п.I.57 (the lone Type IV source), where, with the exception of the First Hour, the “prayers of St. Basil the Great” have been placed at the Hours and the “prayers of the first cycle” at the Mid-Hours. To each of these prayers in this source is added another, second prayer. For example, at the Third Hour we find, in addition to the “prayer of St. Basil the Great,” the prayer **БѢ ВСЕДЪРЖИТЕЛЮ И ѠУЕ ІСЪ ХСОВЪ ЕДИНОУДАГО СНА** (11), and at its Mid-Hour, in addition to the “prayer of the first cycle,” the prayer **ГИ ГИ ИЖЕ ВЪСОТОУ И ЗЕМЛЮ ПАДИЮ ИЗМѢРИВЪ** (34). If we now consider the lone canonical Hour surviving in the Yaroslavl Horologion (the Ninth), we see that it agrees in structure with the Type II sources: the Ninth Hour includes the “prayer of the first cycle” **БЛАГА БЛАГЮ**

ТА ГИ БѢ МОИ И ПРОСЛАВЮ ИМА ТВОЕ and the “prayer of St. Basil the Great” **БЛАГО ГИ ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕННАГО ТВОЕГО УЛѢКОЛЮБИИ** (95). Quite probably the other canonical Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion also shared the selection of prayers with the Type II sources.

Prayers of St. Basil the Great

A set of prayers for the daily cycle of services, ascribed in the sources to St. Basil the Great, was first edited by Aleksey Dmitrievsky from the Greek euchologion Paris, BNF, Coislin 213 (the “Euchologion of Stratigius”).⁴⁰ Their peculiar feature is the mention of one of the nine ranks of heavenly powers in the concluding section of each prayer, beginning with the Seraphim in the first prayer and down to the Angels in the final prayer. The text of the prayers was edited once more (from the same manuscript), accompanied by an extensive philological and theological study, by James Duncan, who proposed that these prayers, though not part of the daily cycle of services in the cathedral tradition (the “asmatic office”), formed part of the monastic daily office and were included in the Euchologion of the Great Church for the convenience of clergy who celebrated both the monastic and cathedral rites.⁴¹ The Greek manuscript horologia, however, contain these prayers only sporadically, and so far I have been unable to locate a single Greek horologion that includes the cycle in its entirety.⁴² The cycle of prayers is represented in full in the Slavonic Studite sources, as can be seen from table 8: the first prayer of the cycle **ГИ БѢ НАШЪ ПОКОИВЪИ НАСЪ СНОМЪ** (291) occurs as part of the “office of cock-crowing”;⁴³ the next prayer **БЛАГО БѢ**

40 A. A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, khraniashchikhsia v bibliotekakh pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, vol. 2, *Εὐχολόγια* (Kiev, 1901), 1004–8.

41 J. Duncan, *Coislin 213: Euchologe de la Grande Église* (Rome, 1983), cxxv–cxxxix.

42 The cycle is represented most completely in the twelfth-century Sinai, Greek 869: prayers 191 and 292 are at the First Hour, 353 is at the Third Hour, 89 is at the Sixth Hour, and 95 is at the Ninth Hour. The prayers are also found in part in Paris, BNF, Grec 331. See the tables in Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, appendix C4.

43 The Greek text of this prayer in the Euchologion Coislin 213 has been lost, but the prayer forms part of the “prayers after rising from sleep” in the horologion Harvard, Houghton Library, Greek 3. The text was identified by Stefano Parenti based on the mention of

39 See Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, 182–211.

Table 7. The Selection of Prayers at the Hours in the Sources Studied

Yaroslavl Horologion	Type II Sources	Type III Sources	Type IV Source
<i>First Hour</i>			
—	БЛ҃ГОДАРЮ ТѦ ГИ БѢ МОИ· И СЛАВЛЮ ТѦ (344) ОУЕ СТЫИ ИЖЕ СЛНЦЕ СЫ ПРАВДЬНОЕ ГѦ НАШЕГО ІС ХА (292)	БЛ҃ГОДАРЮ ТѦ ГИ БѢ МОИ· И СЛАВЛЮ ТѦ (344)	БЛ҃ГОДАРЮ ТѦ ГИ БѢ МОИ· И СЛАВЛЮ ТѦ (344) ГИ ІС ХЕ СНѢ БИИ· СЛОВО БЕСЬМЪРТЬНОЕ (3)
<i>Mid-Hour of First Hour</i>			
—	—	ОУЕ СТЫИ ИЖЕ СЛНЦЕ СЫ ПРАВДЬНОЕ ГѦ НАШЕГО ІС ХА (292) МЛѢВЫ ГИ ПРИЙМИ ВЪЗДѢХАНЬЕ МОЕ НЫИЪ ПРИПАДОУ ТИ ГЖЕ: ПОМИЛУИ МЯ	ОУЕ СТЫИ ИЖЕ СЛНЦЕ СЫ ПРАВДЬНОЕ ГѦ НАШЕГО ІС ХА (292) ВЛКО ГИ БѢ ОУЕ ВСЕДЪРЖИТЕЛЮ (73) БѢ ОЦѢСТИ МА ГРѢШНИКА И НЕ ОСТАВИ (25)
<i>Third Hour</i>			
—	БѢ ЦЕДРЫИ ОУТѢШАМА НАСЪ НА ВСАКЪ УАСЪ (64) БѢ СТЫИ ОУТѢШИТЕЛЮ ДѢШЕ ИСТИНЬНЫИ (353)	БѢ ЦЕДРЫИ ОУТѢШАМА НАСЪ НА ВСАКЪ УАСЪ (64)	БѢ СТЫИ ОУТѢШИТЕЛЮ ДѢШЕ ИСТИНЬНЫИ (353) БѢ ВСЕДЪРЖИТЕЛЮ И ОУЕ ІСЪ ХСОВЪ ЕДИНОУДАДОГО СНА (11)
<i>Mid-Hour of Third Hour</i>			
—	—	БѢ СТЫИ ОУТѢШИТЕЛЮ ДѢШЕ ИСТИНЬНЫИ (353)	БѢ ЦЕДРЫИ ОУТѢШАМА НАСЪ НА ВСАКЪ УАСЪ (64) ГИ ГИ ИЖЕ ВЪСОТОУ И ЗЕМЛЮ ПАДИО ИЗМѢРИЕЪ (34)
<i>Sixth Hour</i>			
—	ГИ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ ВЪ ПОЛДНѢ СПОДОБИВЫИ СЯ ПРИТИ ХЕ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ НАШЕГО РАДИ ОСОУЖЕННИА ПРѢТЪИ РОУЦЕ (89)	ГИ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ ВЪ ПОЛДНѢ СПОДОБИВЫИ СЯ ПРИТИ	ХЕ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ НАШЕГО РАДИ ОСОУЖЕННИА ПРѢТЪИ РОУЦЕ (89) ГИ ВЪШЫИ ВСЕХЪ И ВСЕХЪ РАДИ И ВЪ ВСЕХЪ (13)
<i>Mid-Hour of Sixth Hour</i>			
—	—	ХЕ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ НАШЕГО РАДИ ОСОУЖЕННИА ПРѢТЪИ РОУЦЕ (89)	ГИ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ ВЪ ПОЛДНѢ СПОДОБИВЫИ СЯ ПРИТИ НИЩЕ И ОУБОГЪ ВЪСХВАЛИТЬ ТА ГИ (30)
<i>Seventh Hour</i>			
СТЫИ ВЛАДКО БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ В НЪДѢШНИИ УАСЪ НА ПРЕУТѢМЪ КРѢТЪ (260) ГИ ВЪШЫИ ВСЕХЪ И ВСЕХЪ РАДИ И ВЪ ВСЕХЪ (13)	—	—	—
<i>Eighth Hour</i>			
ГИ ІСЕ ХЕ ИМА ТВОЕ ПРИЗЫВАЮ ТВОИМЪ ИМЕНЕМЪ ЖИВУ	—	—	—

Table 7. *continued*

Yaroslavl Horologion	Type II Sources	Type III Sources	Type IV Source
<i>Ninth Hour</i>			
БЛ҃ГА БЛ҃ГЛЮ ТА ГИ БѢ МОИ И ПРОСЛАВЛЮ ИМА ТВОЕ БЛ҃КО ГИ ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕННАГО ТВОЕГО УЛ҃КОЛЮБИНА (95)	БЛ҃ГА БЛ҃ГЛЮ ТА ГИ БѢ МОИ И ПРОСЛАВЛЮ ИМА ТВОЕ БЛ҃КО ГИ ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕННАГО ТВОЕГО УЛ҃КОЛЮБИНА (95)	БЛ҃ГА БЛ҃ГЛЮ ТА ГИ БѢ МОИ И ПРОСЛАВЛЮ ИМА ТВОЕ	БЛ҃КО ГИ ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕННАГО ТВОЕГО УЛ҃КОЛЮБИНА (95) ГИ ІАКОЖЕ ВЕЛИШИ ГИ ІАКОЖЕ ВѢСИ (29)
<i>Mid-Hour of Ninth Hour</i>			
—	—	БЛ҃КО ГИ ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕННАГО ТВОЕГО УЛ҃КОЛЮБИНА (95)	БЛ҃ГА БЛ҃ГЛЮ ТА ГИ БѢ МОИ И ПРОСЛАВЛЮ ИМА ТВОЕ ГИ ИЖЕ ІЕСИ НАДЪ ЛАЗОРЬМЪ ПЛАКАВЪ СЯ (225)
<i>Tenth Hour</i>			
ГИ ІСѢ ХЕ СП҃СИТЕЛЮ НАШЪ СКРОВИЩЕ БЛ҃ГЫХЪ НИЦЪ И ОУБОГЪ ВЪСХВАЛИТЬ ТА ГИ (30)	—	—	—
<i>Eleventh Hour</i>			
ОУ҃БЫ МНѢ ГРѢШНИКОУ УТО ѠЖИДАЕТЪ ѠКАНЫНА ДША МОЮІА	—	—	—
<i>Twelfth Hour</i>			
ГИ БѢ МОИ ВЕЛИКЫИ СТРАШНЫИ И ПРЕСЛАВНЫИ (159)	—	—	—

рожиї сѧ преже дѣньница Ѡ оца (191) occurs as part of the office of Matins; the prayers of the Hours оуѢ стѣи иже сѧице сѣ правѣднѡе гѧ нашего (292), бѢ стѣи оуѣшителю дѡше истиннѣи (353), хѢ бѢ нашъ иже нашего ради ѡсоужения (89), and БЛ҃КО ГИ ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕННАГО ТВОЕГО УЛ҃КОЛЮБИНА (95) are placed at the Hours in the Type II sources and at the Mid-Hours in the Type III sources (see table 7); the prayer ГИ БѢ НАШЪ ИЖЕ УЛ҃КОМОУ ЖИВОТОУ (354) occurs at the beginning of Vespers; the prayer ГИ БѢ НАШЪ ВЪУНЫНА ЖИЗНИ ПОДАТЕЛЮ (8) occurs as part of the office of Compline; the prayer ГИ БѢ НАШЪ ИСТИННОЕ СИІАНЬЕ ѠѢ (355) is found only in Sof. 1052 at the Midnight Office. Based on this distribution of prayers, we can conclude that the “prayers of St. Basil the Great” were indeed part of the monastic daily cycle of offices, though their position within the Slavonic

Studite sources is somewhat unstable.⁴⁴ It appears that by the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, these prayers had already ceased to be widely used, and hence they are absent from the later copies of the Euchologion of the Great Church, that is, Grottaferrata, Г.β.І (thirteenth century),⁴⁵ and Athens, EBE 662 (beginning

44 The prayer at the “office of cock-crowing” in Tip. 46 and Sof. 1052 is first identified with the “prayer of St. Basil the Great” (291) in Mstislav (Diachina) and M. Zheltov, “Chin kurooglashe-niia’ drevnerusskikh rukopisei,” *Slověne* = *Словѣне. International Journal of Slavic Studies* 7.1 (2018): 368–89, at 378. However for some reason the authors confuse it with the prayer СЛ҃А ТОВѢ ГИ БѢ МОИ ИЖЕ УЛ҃БЫНЫМЪ СВОИМЪ ПРОМЫСЛОМЪ (“prayer Г” according to the authors’ terminology). The authors consider these prayers to be “in addition to the main daily cycle” in the horologia. Based on the position of these prayers in the Type II Hours, it is quite possible that the prayers are, indeed, secondary.

45 Duncan, *Euchologe de la Grande Église*, cxxxii. For the dating of Grottaferrata, Г.β.І, see: S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, “A Thirteenth Century Manuscript of the Constantinopolitan Euchology: Grottaferrata Г.β.І, Alias of Cardinal Bessarion,” *BollGrott* 3.3 (2007): 175–96.

the Seraphim in the conclusion of the prayer: Anderson and Parenti, *Byzantine Monastic Office*, 80–82, 290–91.

Table 8. “Prayer of St. Basil the Great” in the Slavonic Studite Sources

No.	Greek Incipit	Slavonic Incipit	Function
291	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διαναπαύσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ¹	Г҃И БѢ НАШЬ ПОКОИВЫЙ НАСЪ СНОМЬ ²	Prayer “after rising from sleep”
191	Δέσποτα ὁ Θεός, ὁ πρὸ ἐωσφόρου γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ³	ВЛКО БѢ РОЖИИ СЯ ПРЕЖЕ ДНѢНИЦА Ѡ ОЦА ⁴	Prayer of Matins
292	Πάτερ ἄγιε, ὁ τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν	ОУЕ СТЫИ ИЖЕ СЛНЦЕ СЫ ПРАВѢДНОЕ Г҃А НАШЕГО	Prayer of the First Hour
353	Θεὲ ἄγιε, παράκλητε, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας	БѢ СТЫИ ОУТѢШИТЕЛЮ ДУШЕ ИСТИННЫИ	Prayer of the Third Hour
89	Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ κατὰκρισιν	ХѢ БѢ НАШЬ ИЖЕ НАШЕГО РАДИ ѠСОУЖЕННА	Prayer of the Sixth Hour
95	Δέσποτα Κύριε, ἡ ζωὴ τῶν ὅλων ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφάτου σου φιλανθρωπίας	ВЛКО Г҃И ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕНЫНАГО ТВОЕГО УЛѢКОЛЮБИНА	Prayer of the Ninth Hour
354	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν	Г҃И БѢ НАШЬ ИЖЕ УЛВУКОМОУ ЖИВОТОУ ⁵	Prayer of Vespers
8	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς χορηγός	Г҃И БѢ НАШЬ ВЪУНЫНА ЖИЗНИ ПОДАТЕЛЮ ⁶	Prayer “at going to sleep”
355	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὸ αἰδίου ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ Πατρὸς	Г҃И БѢ НАШЬ ИСТИННОЕ СИМНЬЕ ѠУЕ ⁷	Prayer “at midnight”

¹ Anderson and Parenti, *Byzantine Monastic Office*, 80–82 (with English translation).

² NLR, Sof. 1052, fol. 7r; RSAAD, Tip. 46, fol. 3r (“office of cock-crowing”); RSAAD, Tip. 47, fol. 3r; SHM, Sin. 325, fol. 3r (beginning of Matins); NLR, F.п.Ι.73, fol. 12v (inside Matins).

³ The Greek text of this and subsequent prayers has been edited twice: Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, 1004–8; Duncan, *Euchologe de la Grande Église*, cxxv–cxxxix (with French translation).

⁴ NLR, Sof. 1052, fol. 10v; NLR, F.п.Ι.73, fol. 9v (beginning of Matins); NLR, Q.п.Ι.57, fol. 50r; RSAAD, Tip. 46, fol. 19r (end of Matins).

⁵ NLR, Sof. 1052, fol. 103v; NLR, F.п.Ι.73, fol. 43v; NLR, O.п.Ι.2, fol. 55v; RSAAD, Tip. 46, fol. 38r; RSAAD, Tip. 47, fol. 65r; RSAAD, Tip. 48, fol. 28v; SHM, Sin. 325, fol. 11r; Yaroslavl Museum 15481, fol. 133v (beginning of Vespers).

⁶ NLR, Sof. 1052, fol. 116v; NLR, Q.п.Ι.57, fol. 147r; RSAAD, Tip. 46, fol. 48v; Yaroslavl Museum 15481, fol. 215v (conclusion of Compline); RSAAD, Tip. 47, fol. 80r; RSAAD, Tip. 48, fol. 35r (beginning of Compline); NLR, O.п.Ι.2, fol. 31v (inside Compline); RASL, Arkheogr. 171, fol. 14r (at the conclusion of Vespers).

⁷ NLR Sof. 1052, fol. 170r (at the Midnight Office). This prayer may also be found as part of the Midnight Office in the psalter RSAAD, Tip. 29 (second half of the fourteenth century), fol. 2v; following Cathisma 17 in the psalter RSAAD, Tip. 28 (fourteenth century), fol. 147v; following Cathisma 16 in the psalter NLR, F.п.Ι.4 (fourteenth century), fol. 120v; and perhaps in other sources. See: A. V. Shchepetkin and D. I. Makarov, “Kompleks molitv svt. Vasilii Velikogo v drevnerusskikh chasoslovakh,” *Tserkov'–Bogoslovie–Istoriia (Church–Theology–History)* 1 (2020): 455–69.

of the fourteenth century), as well as from the Slavonic translation of the Euchologion of the Great Church compiled at the end of the fourteenth century.⁴⁶ From among the prayers of this cycle, the surviving folios of the Yaroslavl Horologion contain the prayer **ВЛКО Г҃И ЖИВОТЪ ВСѢХЪ ИЖЕ Ѡ НЕИЗДРЕУЕНЫНАГО ТВОЕГО УЛѢКОЛЮБИНА** (95) as part of the Ninth Hour, as well as

the prayers **Г҃И БѢ НАШЬ ИЖЕ УЛВУКОМОУ ЖИВОТОУ** (354) at the beginning of Vespers and **Г҃И БѢ НАШЬ ВЪУНЫНА ЖИЗНИ ПОДАТЕЛЮ** (8) at the conclusion of Compline.

Prayers of the Minor Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion

The minor Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion (see table 7) contain either two prayers (at the Seventh and Tenth Hours) or one prayer (at the Eighth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Hours). The prayers of the Seventh

⁴⁶ See: T. I. Afanasyeva, V. V. Kozak, G. A. Molkov, and M. G. Sharikhina, *Evkhologii Velikoi tserkvi v slaviano-russkom perevode kontsa XIV veka. Issledovanie i tekst* (Moscow, 2019).

and Tenth Hours occur also in Q.п.I.57: the second prayer placed at the Seventh Hour in the Yaroslavl Horologion, **Г҃И ВЪШЫИ ВСѢХЪ И ВСѢХЪ РАДИ И ВЪ ВСѢХЪ** (13), in Q.п.I.57 occurs at the Sixth Hour,⁴⁷ and the second prayer placed at the Tenth Hour, **НИЦЬ И ОУБОГЪ ВЪСХВАЛИТЬ ТЯ Г҃И** (30), at the Mid-Hour of the Sixth Hour.⁴⁸ As its first prayer at the Seventh Hour, the Yaroslavl Horologion uses the prayer of the first antiphon of the Sixth Hour from the “asmatic office,” **СТ҃ИМ ВЛАД҃КО Б҃Е НАШЪ ИЖЕ ВЪ НЫНѢШНИИ УАСѢ НА ПРЕУТѢМЪ КР҃ТѢ** (260).⁴⁹ At the Twelfth Hour, the Yaroslavl Horologion contains the prayer **Г҃И Б҃Е МОИ ВЕЛИКЫИ СТРАШНЫИ И ПРЕСЛАВНЫИ** (159), ascribed in the manuscript to St. John Chrysostom. In fact, the text can be identified with the *Oratio secunda*, spuriously attributed to Chrysostom,⁵⁰ though the text in the Yaroslavl Horologion differs somewhat both from the Greek text edited in PG and from the Greek text recorded in the horologion Paris, BNF, Grec 331. In particular, the Yaroslavl Horologion contains a petition for “our fathers and brethren, and Theodosius who recorded this prayer, and our sisters” (fol. 49v) and concludes with a commemoration of the saints—“our holy fathers

Pachomius, Onuphrius, Sabbas, Euthymius, Theodore, our venerable father Theodosius, Athanasius” (fol. 51r). The mention of “Theodosius, who recorded this prayer” and “our venerable father Theodosius” led A. Raevskii to propose that this prayer may be attributed to St. Theodosius of the Kiev Caves,⁵¹ but this hypothesis can be firmly rejected now that the Greek analogue of the prayer has been identified. The petition in the prayer is probably an interpolation of the translator or a subsequent scribe, and there is no evidence linking the Yaroslavl Horologion to St. Theodosius.⁵² Of the other prayers of the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion, I am able to identify a Greek equivalent for the prayer of the Eleventh Hour, **ОУВЫ МНѢ ГРѢШНИКОУ УТО ОЖИДАЕТЬ ОКАНЫИМЪ Д҃ША МОЮЮ**,⁵³ but not for the prayer of the Eighth Hour, **Г҃И ІСѢ ХЕ ИМА ТВОЮ ПРИЗЫВАЮ ТВОИМЪ ИМЕНЕМЪ ЖИВУ**, which in the manuscript is ascribed to St. Ambrose—evidently, of Milan.

Of particular interest is the prayer of the Tenth Hour, which begins with the initial phrase **Г҃И ІСѢ ХЕ СП҃СИТЕЛЮ НАШЪ СКРОВИЩЕ БЛ҃ГЫХЪ ДАИ ЖЕ МИ ПОКАНИИЕ СВЕРШЕНО**, which corresponds with the incipit of a prayer that occurs after Cathisma 3 in a number of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century South Slavic and Russian psalters⁵⁴ and which is the second

47 This prayer (13) occurs also as part of the Seventh Hour in the horologion Paris, BNF, Grec 331 (fol. 81r). The Greek text has been edited: Phountoules, “Εικοσιτετράωρον ὠρολόγιον,” 359. It is also found in SYRO-P at the Sixth Hour: Black, *Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion*, 80.

48 This prayer (30) occurs also as part of the Tenth Hour in the horologion Paris, BNF, Grec 331 (fol. 108r). The prayer is related to a hymn recorded in the anonymous vita of St. Auxentius of Bithynia (BHG 199). It occurs also in the psalter Harvard, Houghton Library, Greek 3, after Cathisma 10 (Anderson and Parenti, *Byzantine Monastic Office*, 280). The Greek text has been edited: PG 114:1416; J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1876–82), 1:xxiii–xxiv.

49 The Greek text has been edited multiple times: Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, 37; M. Arranz, *Kak molilis' Bogu drevnie vizantiitsy* (Leningrad, 1979), 144; idem, *L'Eucologio Constantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI* (Rome, 1996), 108; Duncan, *Euchologe de la Grande Église*, 109; S. J. Koster, *Das Euchologion Sevastianov 474 (X/XI Jhd.) der Staatsbibliothek Lenin in Moskau* (Rome, 1991), 73; E. Velkovska and S. Parenti, eds., *Evhlogii Barberini gr. 336* (Omsk, 2011), 319, no. 92. For a Slavonic translation of the fourteenth century, see Afanasyeva et al., *Evhlogii Velikoi tserkvi v slaviano-russkom perevode*, 296.

50 CPG 4688; see: J. A. de Aldama, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris, 1965), 85, no. 233. The Greek text has been edited; see PG 63:923–28; and TLG, no. 2062.346. This prayer occurs in the horologion Paris, BNF, Grec 331, at the end of the Ninth Hour (fol. 96r).

51 Raevskii, “O Chasoslove biblioteki Iaroslavskogo arkhieiskogo doma XIII v.”

52 That the petition is an interpolation was first argued by K. V. Kharlampovich, “O molitvakh prep. Feodosiia Pecherskogo,” *IzvORJaS* 17.2 (1912): 167–68. Raevskii’s attribution of the prayer to St. Theodosius was based in part on the presence of the prayer **ИЖЕ СОУТЬ ТВОИ ВЪРЬНИИ Г҃И** in the Yaroslavl Horologion at the office of Typica (fols. 64v–66r), which has textual similarities with the “prayer for all Christians” composed by St. Theodosius (edited in D. S. Likhachev et al., eds., *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi* vol. 1, *XI–XII veka* [St. Petersburg, 1997], 453). However, the prayer in the Yaroslavl Horologion differs considerably from the prayer of St. Theodosius; for a discussion of this, see Dalmat (Yudin), “Istoriia i problemy opisaniia Iaroslavskogo Chasoslova XIII v.”

53 The prayer is found in the vita of St. Niphon of Constantia (BHG 13712). The Greek text of the vita has been edited: A. V. Rystenko, ed., *Materiiali z istorii vizantiis'ko-slov'ians'koi literatury ta movi* (Odessa, 1928), 17–186, with the prayer on 104–5. A Slavonic translation from the thirteenth century may be found *ibid.*, 309–11. I am grateful to Hieromonk Dalmat (Yudin) for identifying this prayer, which is absent from G. Parpulov’s incipitation.

54 The Psalter of Grigorovich (RSL, Grig. 4; thirteenth century), on fol. 152v; the psalter RSAAD, Tip. 27 (thirteenth century), on fol. 34v; the psalter NLR, F.п.I.4 (fourteenth century), on fol. 27v; as well as the psalter section of SHM, Syn. 325, on fol. 214r. The

portion of the prayer Κύριε, ὁ ἐπὶ Λαζάρου κλαύσας καὶ δάκρυα συμπαθείας στάξας ἐν αὐτῷ (225) that in the Slavic and Greek traditions is attributed to St. Isaac of Nineveh.⁵⁵ Following this initial phrase, we find, however, an entirely different prayer beginning with the words **Г҃И Б҃Ѣ ВСЕМОГ҃ИИ ТБ҃Ѣ БУДХОУ ИСПОВѢДАНЪ**, which first occurs as the second prayer of Confession in the eleventh-century Glagolitic Euchologium Sinaiticum.⁵⁶ The prayer does not have a known Greek analogue and bears striking similarities with the Old Bavarian penitential Saint Emmeram Prayer.⁵⁷ The

prayer also occurs after Cathisma 3 in the fourteenth-century psalter Yaroslavl Museum 15482, on fol. 9v; concerning this manuscript, see C. M. MacRobert, "Two Lykewake Psalters: the MSS Vasteras/UUB5/UUB6 and Jaroslavl' 15482," *ScSl* 38 (1999): 108–27, at 118.

55 For the Greek text, see the prayer printed at the end of Λόγος Β': Περὶ ἀπαρνήσεως κόσμου καὶ ἀποχῆς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παρρησίας (beginning with the words "ἀλλὰ σὺ, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ θησαυρὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δώρησαί μοι τελείαν μετάνοιαν") in K. Pantokratorinos, ed., *Του Οσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαάκ του Σύρου: Τα σωζόμενα ασκητικά* (Athens, 1871), 14. The prayer, in fact, is not an authentic work of Isaac of Nineveh but instead was composed by John of Dalyatha; see J. Munitiz, "A Greek 'Anima Christi' Prayer," *EChR* 6.2 (1974): 170–80, with English translation at 175.

56 The Euchologium Sinaiticum comprises Sinai, Slav. 37, Sinai, Slav. 1/N, RASL, 2.4.4.8, and NLR, Glag. 2; the prayer in question appears in Sinai, Slav. 37, on fol. 80r. See the edition (in Cyrillic transcription) by R. Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, vol. 2, *Tekst s komentarjem* (Ljubljana, 1942), 208–16. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for identifying this prayer. That the four *disiecta membra* constitute parts of one codex was argued by T. Afanasyeva, "K voprosu o poriadke sledovaniia listov i sostave Sinaiskogo glagolicheskogo sluzhebника XI v.," *Palaeobulgarica* 29.3 (2005): 17–35.

57 The Old Church Slavonic and Old High German texts were first edited by W. Vondrák, "Althochdeutsche Beichtformeln im Altkirchenslavischen und in den Freisinger Denkmälern," *ASP* 16 (1894): 118–32, at 124–25. Later, a more nuanced view was proposed by A. Karlinsky, namely, that the confessional prayer in the Euchologium Sinaiticum and the St. Emmeram Prayer are both derived from a no longer extant Bavarian penitential rite: see A. Karlinsky, "Staroslavianskaia versiiia Sant-Emmeramskoi molitvy," in *Tipologiia i vzaimodeistvie slavianskikh i german-skikh iazykov* (Minsk, 1969), 135–61. A number of Bulgarian scholars have argued in favor of the opposite conclusion, namely that the prayer was first composed in Slavonic, perhaps as part of a penitential rite composed in Moravia by SS. Cyril and Methodius, and then translated into Old High German: see B. Džonov, "Die angeblichen gotischen Entlehnungen in der albulgarischen Beichte und im St. Emmeram Gebet," *Palaeobulgarica* 1.3 (1977): 60–69; V. Andreeva, "Starob"lgarskata izpovedna molitva ot Sinaiskii trebnik i neinoto staronemsko s"otvetstvie—Sant-Emeramskata molitva (Sravnitelno-stilistichen analiz)," *Starob"lgarska literatura* 17 (1985): 85–97. A more nuanced view was proposed by Miguel

prayer is found in the confession rite in two later South Slavic sources, SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library, nos. 960 (the Zaikovskii Trebnik; fourteenth century)⁵⁸ and 616 (sixteenth century).⁵⁹ The Yaroslavl Horologion is the only Russian source known to me to include the prayer in full, though as part of private devotion rather than sacramental Confession.⁶⁰ The texts of this prayer as well as the other prayers of the Minor Hours have a strikingly penitential character and are indicative of the type of piety and devotion of the compiler and user of the Yaroslavl Horologion: they reflect a theology of repentance in the face of eternal punishment for sin and contain few, if any, petitions for worldly affairs, health, or family members, thus pointing to a monastic context.

It is interesting to compare the selection of prayers in the Yaroslavl Horologion with one of the Greek horologia with a cursus of twelve daytime Hours: Paris, BNF, Grec 331 (table 9). This source contains a number of prayers that are also found in the Slavonic Studite horologia: the "prayers of St. Basil the Great" at the First (292), Sixth (89), and Ninth Hours (95), and the "prayer of the first cycle," ὁ Θεὸς τῶν αἰωνίων, ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς = **Б҃Ѣ ЦЕДР҃ИИ ОУТѢШАМ НАСЪ** (64), at the Third Hour. Furthermore, the prayers recorded in Q.n.I.57—the second prayer at the Third Hour, **Б҃Ѣ ВСЕД҃РЖИТЕЛЮ . . . ДАЖЬ МИ ТѢЛО БЕСПРИРЕЧЬНО** =

Arranz, who argued that the prayer is part of a genre of confessional prayers written in a relatively free style and may not have an exact Greek parallel: see M. Arranz, "Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine," *OCP* 58 (1992): 423–59, at 440; see also idem, "La liturgie de l'Euchologe slave du Sinai," in *Christianity among the Slavs: The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, ed. E. G. Farrugia, R. F. Taft, and G. K. Piovesana, OCA 231 (Rome, 1988), 15–74, at 57.

58 On fol. 40r. See the edition by M. Tsibranska-Kostova and E. Mircheva, *Zaikovski trebnik ot XIV vek. Izsledovane i tekst* (Sofia, 2012), 271–73.

59 M. Tsibranska, "Aspekti na razprostanenieto na starob"lgarskata izpovedna (Sant-Emeramskata) molitva v iuzhnoslavianskata pismenost," *Kirilo-Methodievski studii* 13 (2000): 187–96, esp. at 192–3.

60 The other Russian source known to me to contain this text (in a later textual version and as part of a longer prayer) is the sixteenth-century psalter RSL, Yegorov Collection (coll. 98), no. 492, on fol. 377v (following Cathisma 20). The other psalter identified by Dalmat (Yudin) (in "Istoriia i problemy opisaniia Iaroslavskogo Chasoslova XIII v.") as containing this prayer—RSL, Trinity-St. Sergius Laura (TSL) (coll. 304.1), no. 315 (sixteenth century)—contains, in fact, a different prayer, though with a similar incipit (on fol. 12r, following Cathisma 13), as does RSL, TSL, no. 49, on fol. 168r (also following Cathisma 13).

Table 9. Prayers of the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion and in BNF, Grec 331

Hour	Yaroslavl Horologion	Paris, BNF, Grec 331
First	—	1. Πάτερ ἄγιε, ὁ τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης (292; “Prayer of St. Basil the Great”) 2. Εὐλογῶ σε, Κύριε, τὸν μακρόθυμον (1)
Second	—	Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ . . . Λόγε ἀθάνατε (3)
Third	—	1. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ δίκαιος καὶ αἰνετός (7) 2. Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν αἰώνιων, ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς (64) = бѣ ꙗ҃коже ѿ҃чѣшаѡ насѣ
Fourth	—	Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ . . . δός μοι σῶμα (11) = бѣ вседѣржителю . . . дажѣ ми тѣло
Fifth	—	Κύριε σωτήρ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες (10)
Sixth	—	1. Κύριε, ὁ τὰ ὕψη καὶ τὴν γῆν δρακί μετρήσας (34) = г҃и г҃и иже вѣсотоу и землю падю измѣрихѣ 2. Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν . . . κατὰκρισιν (89; “Prayer of St. Basil the Great”)
Seventh	1. с҃ѣи владѣо бѣ нашѣ иже в нынѣшнии уасѣ = Ἄγιε δέσποτα ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν (260) 2. г҃и вѣшши всѣхѣ и всѣхѣ ради и вѣ всѣхѣ = Κύριε, ὑπὲρ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων (13)	Κύριε, ὑπὲρ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων (13) = г҃и вѣшши всѣхѣ и всѣхѣ ради и вѣ всѣхѣ
Eighth	г҃и ісѣ хѣ има твоѣ призываю	—
Ninth	1. вѣла вѣлаю та г҃и бѣ мои 2. вѣло г҃и животоу всѣхѣ = Δέσποτα Κύριε, ἡ ζωὴ τῶν ὅλων (95; “prayer of St. Basil the Great”)	1. Δέσποτα Κύριε, ἡ ζωὴ τῶν ὅλων (95; “Prayer of St. Basil the Great”) 2. Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ μέγας καὶ φοβερός καὶ ἔνδοξος (159) = г҃и бѣ мои великѣи страшнѣи и преславнѣи
Tenth	1. г҃и ісѣ хѣ спсѣтелю нашѣ 2. нищѣ и оубо҃гѣ вѣсхвалитѣ та г҃и = Πτωχὸς καὶ πένης αἰνέσουσί σε (30)	Πτωχὸς καὶ πένης αἰνέσουσί σε (30) = нищѣ и оубо҃гѣ вѣсхвалитѣ та г҃и
Eleventh	оубѣ мнѣ грѣшникуу у҃то ѡжидаетѣ ѡканьнѣа дша мояѣа	Κύριε, ὡς κέλευεις, Κύριε, ὡς γινώσκεις (29) = г҃и іакоже велиши г҃и іакоже вѣси
Twelfth	г҃и бѣ мои великѣи страшнѣи и преславнѣи = Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ μέγας καὶ φοβερός καὶ ἔνδοξος (159)	Εὐλογῶ σε, Κύριε, τὸν μακρόθυμον (1)

ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ . . . δός μοι σῶμα ἄσπιλον (11), and the prayer at its Mid-Hour, **г҃и г҃и иже вѣсотоу и землю падю измѣрихѣ** = Κύριε, ὁ τὰ ὕψη καὶ τὴν γῆν δρακί μετρήσας (34)—are recorded at the Fourth Hour and at the Sixth Hour, respectively, in BNF, Grec 331, while the prayers recorded in Q.п.I.57 at the Sixth Hour—**г҃и вѣшши всѣхѣ и всѣхѣ ради** = Κύριε, ὑπὲρ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων (13), and its Mid-Hour, **нищѣ и оубо҃гѣ вѣсхвалитѣ та г҃и** = πτωχὸς καὶ πένης αἰνέσουσί σε, Κύριε (30)—occur at the Seventh and Tenth Hours in BNF, Grec 331. These prayers also occur at these positions in the Yaroslavl Horologion. Finally, the “Prayer of St. John Chrysostom”—**г҃и бѣ мои великѣи страшнѣи и преславнѣи** = Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ μέγας καὶ φοβερός καὶ ἔνδοξος (159)—which in the Yaroslavl Horologion is placed at the Twelfth Hour, occurs in

BNF, Grec 331, as the second prayer of the Ninth Hour. In this way we see that even though the selection of psalms at the Minor Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion differs significantly from that in BNF, Grec 331 (see table 3), in its selection of prayers at the Hours, the Yaroslavl Horologion does bear striking similarities with Greek sources of its type: it contains prayers that occur at the Minor Hours in BNF, Grec 331, to which it adds other prayers originally from hagiographical and ascetic literature, but perhaps derived by way of the devotional prayers in the Byzantine psalter. Other than the as-of-yet unknown prayer of the Eighth Hour attributed in the manuscript to St. Ambrose, there is, in fact, no evidence of a Latin influence. A sampling of the prayers not found in other Slavonic horologia is edited in the appendix to this paper.

The Hymnography of the Hours in the Yaroslavl Horologion

The hymnography of the Hours in the sources studied consists of a theotokion (which is placed after “Now and ever” following the responsorium; it is marked “Th” in table 10) and a troparion and its theotokion (marked “Tr” and “Th” in table 10). In the Slavonic Studite sources that contain Type III and Type IV Hours (Sof. 1052 and Q.п.I.57), this combination of troparion and theotokion occurs at the Mid-Hours, while in the sources that contain Type II Hours it occurs at the Hour, following the first prayer. The manuscripts Q.п.I.57 and Sof. 1052 also contain special troparia at the Hours for Saturday services, but these are not considered here since they belong more properly to the weekly liturgical cycle. The selection of theotokia at the Hours is identical in all of the sources studied. We find the same selection of theotokia in the Greek horologion Harvard, Houghton Library, Greek 3,⁶¹ in SYRO-P,⁶² in the South Italian sources, and in the modern Byzantine Rite.

The troparia at the Hours (in Type II sources) and Mid-Hours (in Type III and Type IV sources) are also fairly stable in the Slavonic Studite sources: only F.п.I.73 differs in its selection of a troparion and theotokion at the Third Hour, as well as a theotokion (**БОЖЮ БЫХОМЪ ОБЫЦНИЦИ ІЕСТЬСТВОУ**) at the Sixth. The Greek sources, on the other hand, reveal a great deal of variety. The Harvard horologion (Houghton Library, Greek 3) contains only troparia for the First Hour and not for the others. SYRO-P already contains troparia at the Mid-Hours: each Mid-Hour has the troparion *ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν* (without a theotokion), while the Mid-Hour of the First Hour has also the troparia *ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς* and *Κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς*.⁶³ In the South Italian sources, troparia are usually present at the Mid-Hours (in BSB, Gr. 320, and in Grottaferrata, Γ.α.VIII) or both at the Hours and the Mid-Hours (in Grottaferrata, Γ.α.V), while the choice of troparia is quite varied. The stable element is the presence of the troparion *σωτηρίαν εἰργάσω ἐν μέσῳ τῆς*

γῆς = **СПСНІЕ СДѢЯ ПОСРЕДѢ ЗЕМЛѢ** at the Mid-Hour of the Sixth Hour both in the Slavonic and South Italian sources (in Γ.α.V, just as in the modern Byzantine Rite, it is recorded at the Sixth Hour itself), which in the South Italian sources (just as in F.п.I.73) is accompanied by the theotokion *θείας γεγόναμεν κοινωνοὶ φύσεως* = **БОЖЮ БЫХОМЪ ОБЫЦНИЦИ ІЕСТЬСТВОУ**, and the troparion *βλέπων ὁ ληστής* = **ВИДѢ РАЗБОЙНИКЪ** and theotokion *τὸν ἄμμόν καὶ ποιμένα* = **АГНИЦА И ПАСТЫРѢ** at the Mid-Hour of the Ninth Hour (in Γ.α.V and the modern Byzantine Rite these are placed at the Ninth Hour itself). The choice of these texts obviously reflects the theology of these Hours, as times of the day selected to mark the main Gospel events of the Passion of Christ. The same theological explanation can be given for the selection of the troparia *βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε* (in the South Italian sources) and **ВЛГНЪ ІЕСИ ХЪ БѢ НАШЪ** (in the Slavonic sources), both devoted to the topic of the descent of the Holy Spirit, for the Mid-Hour of the Third Hour (the latter occurs at the Third Hour itself in the modern Byzantine Rite). The choice of the troparia for the First Hour, *τὴν ἄχραντον εἰκόνα σου* (in BSB, Gr. 320) and *ὁ ὑψωθεὶς ἐν τῷ Σταυρῷ ἐκουσίως* (in Γ.α.V), is less obvious; the choice of the troparion **СВѢТОУ БЫТИ ГИ ПОВЕЛѢЕ** in the Slavonic sources, undoubtedly, is dictated by the function of this Hour as the first office following sunrise.

The selection of the theotokion at the Ninth Hour in the Yaroslavl Horologion agrees with the other sources studied. The troparion placed in the Slavonic sources at the Mid-Hour of the Sixth Hour occurs at the Eighth Hour in the Yaroslavl Horologion (together with the theotokion **БОЖЮ БЫХОМЪ ОБЫЦНИЦИ ІЕСТЬСТВОУ**, as in F.п.I.73 and the South Italian horologia), and the troparion and theotokion that occur in the Slavonic Studite sources at the Mid-Hour of the Ninth Hour are placed at the Tenth Hour in the Yaroslavl Horologion. In this way, the connection of the Minor Hours with the Mid-Hours is maintained, despite differences in liturgical structure. At the Eleventh Hour, the Yaroslavl Horologion contains the troparion **АЩЕ ПРАВЕДНИКЪ ІЕДВА СПѢТЕТЪ СѦ**, which thematically is linked with the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Mt. 20:1–16). The selection of troparia at the other Minor Hours is less obvious: at the Seventh Hour the Yaroslavl Horologion contains the troparion **ПРЕУТОМОУ ТИ ѠБРАЗѢ** = *τὴν ἄχραντον εἰκόνα σου*, which is thematically linked with the restoration of

61 Anderson and Parenti, *Byzantine Monastic Office*, 110, 116, 120, 124.

62 Black, *Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion*, 75, 78, 80, 83.

63 Lutzka, *Die Kleinen Horen des byzantinischen Stundengebetes*, 49–50.

Table 10. Selection of Hymnography at the Hours and Mid-Hours in the Sources Studied

Hour	Yaroslavl Horologion	Slavonic Sources	South-Italian Sources
First	–	Th yto тл нареуемъ ѡбразованаѣ	= τὶ σὲ καλέσωμεν, ὦ κεχαριτωμένη
Mid-Hour of First	–	Tr свѣтоу быти гѣ повелѣѣ Th гѣ мы ѡсмы людие твои	Tr τὴν ἄχραντον εἰκόνα σου Th τὴν ὑπερένδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μητέρα ¹
Third	–	Th бѣе дѡ ты ѡси лоза истиннаѣ	= Θεοτόκε, σὺ εἶ ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή
Mid-Hour of Third	–	Tr бл҃гнѣ ѡси хѣ бѣ нашѣ Th тл градъ и станице имамъ ²	Tr Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε Th Προστασία τῶν Χριστιανῶν ³
Sixth	–	Th ѡко не имамъ дѣрзновение	= ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν παρρησίαν
Mid-Hour of Sixth	–	Tr сп҃снїи сдѣѣ посреѣ землѣ Th прел҃гнѣ ѡси бѣе дѡ поѡмъ тл ⁴	Tr σωτηρίαν εἰργάσω ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς Th θείας γεγόναμεν κοινωνοὶ φύσεως ⁵
Seventh	Tr пречѣстому ти ѡбразъ = τὴν ἄχραντον εἰκόνα σου Th непобѣдимую твою мѣстоу стажавъ бл҃гнѣ = τὴν ἄμαχον πρεσβείαν σου ⁶	–	–

Note: Tr = troparion; Th = theotokion.

¹ H. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae*, 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1960), 4:101; HR, p. 63; HV, p. 77 [the sigla of these editions of liturgical books follows Follieri]. Thus in BSB, Gr. 320; but Γ.α.V contains a different troparion, ὁ ὑψωθείς ἐν τῷ Σταυρῷ ἐκουσίως (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 3:243; HR, p. 29; HV, p. 34), and the theotokion ταχὺ προκατάλαβε πρὶν δουλωθῆναι (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 4:37; HR, p. 63; HV, p. 78). Γ.α.VIII has the troparion ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 3:37; HR, p. 72; HV, p. 89) and the theotokion τεῖχος ἀκαταμάχητον ἡμῶν (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 4:40; HR, p. 72; HV, p. 89).

² However, NLR, F.п.I.73, contains a different troparion and theotokion: бѣ, оцѣсти грѣхи моѣ and прескатаѣ бѣе помаган намъ грѣшнымъ; the Greek analogues of these texts have not been identified.

³ For the theotokion, see Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 3:365; HR, p. 84; HV, p. 104. Thus in BSB, Gr. 320, and Γ.α.VIII. Γ.α.V at the Mid-Hour contains the troparion ὡς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν μαθητῶν σου (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 5:167; PeR, p. 51; PeV, p. 26) and the theotokion Παναγία Θεοτόκε τὸν χρόνον (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 3:263; HR, p. 122; HV, p. 169).

⁴ F.п.I.73 has a different theotokion, божю быхомъ обѣщаницѣ ѡсѣствоу = θείας γεγόναμεν κοινωνοὶ φύσεως.

⁵ Thus in BSB, Gr. 320, and Γ.α.VIII; for the troparion, see Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 3:615; HR, p. 76; HV, p. 94. In Γ.α.V at the Mid-Hour we find the troparion ὁ φωτίσας τὰ ἐπίγεια (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 3:248; HR, p. 96; HV, p. 139); then τὴν ἄχραντον εἰκόνα σου; then the theotokion εὐσπλαγχνίας ὑπάρχουσα πηγὴ (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 1:558; HR, p. 77; HV, p. 94).

⁶ See Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 4:58; TR, p. 114; TV, p. 67.

icons after the defeat of Iconoclasm, and at the Twelfth Hour it contains the troparion **бл҃гоѡбразнѣи ѡсифѣ**, taken from the services for Great Friday. In sum, the Yaroslavl Horologion contains a diverse selection of hymnography at the Minor Hours, which, though on the whole it maintains the theological interpretation of the Hours as marking times of the events of the Passion, in some instances departs from that interpretation. This selection seems to be related to the selection of troparia at the Mid-Hours in the Slavonic Studite sources.

Conclusion

The Slavonic Studite horologion remains an inadequately studied, yet very important source for the history of the Liturgy of the Hours in the Byzantine Rite. The surviving Slavonic sources preserve certain archaic features that are absent from the Greek sources, such as the prayers attributed to St. Basil the Great placed within the structure of the Hours. One feature that they also capture is the evolution of the Mid-Hours, which first originate as a private monastic devotion and

Table 10. *continued*

Hour	Yaroslavl Horologion	Slavonic Sources	South-Italian Sources
Eighth	Тг сп̑н̑н̑е с̑д̑ѣѣ посре̑дѣ з̑емл̑ѣ = σωτηρίαν εἰργάσω ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς Тг божю вѣхомъ об̑щ̑ьници ѣстьствоу = θείας γεγόναμεν κοινωνοὶ φύσεως	—	—
Ninth	Тг рож̑и с̑ѣ нас̑ъ ради ѿ д̑ѣв̑ы	Тг рож̑и с̑ѣ нас̑ъ ради ѿ д̑ѣв̑ы	= ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ Παρθένου
Mid-Hour of Ninth	—	Тг вид̑ѣ раз̑боин̑никъ Тг аг̑ница и паст̑ыр̑ѣ	= βλέπων ὁ ληστής = τὸν ἄμμόν καὶ ποιμένα ⁷
Tenth	Тг вид̑ѣ раз̑боин̑никъ = βλέπων ὁ ληστής Тг аг̑ница и паст̑ыр̑ѣ = τὸν ἄμμόν καὶ ποιμένα	—	—
Eleventh	Тг аще прав̑ед̑никъ ѣд̑ѣ сп̑с̑ет̑ь с̑ѣ = εἰ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σῶζεται ⁸ Тг от̑ъуа̑в̑ѣшию с̑ѣ н̑инев̑гию ⁹	—	—
Twelfth	Тг бл̑го̑ш̑е̑р̑ѣз̑н̑и̑и ѿс̑иф̑ѣ = ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ ¹⁰ Тг помо̑щ̑ь в̑ъ скор̑ѣ̑х̑ѣ и з̑асто̑уп̑ьни̑ца = βοήθης τοῖς ἐν θλίψει ¹¹	—	—

⁷ Thus in BSB, Gr. 320, and Γ.α.VIII. In Γ.α.V at the Mid-Hour we find the troparion ἐν μέσῳ δύο ληστῶν ζυγὸς (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 1:447; HR, p. 94; HV, p. 136) and the theotokion ἡ νοητὴ πύλη τῆς ζωῆς, ἀχραντε (Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 2:51; HR, p. 250; HV, p. 418).

⁸ Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 1:370; PaR, p. 24; PaV, p. 12.

⁹ Cf. **ѿуа̑в̑ѣши̑е н̑инев̑ит̑ское̑ пред̑вар̑ил̑ъ̑ е̑си** (*Oktoikh*, vol. 1 [Moscow, 1981], 85 [Tone 1, Matins of Tuesday, theotokion following the second stichology]). The Greek analog of this text has not been identified.

¹⁰ Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 3:31; HR, p. 225; HV, p. 378; TR, p. 708; TV, p. 398.

¹¹ Follieri, *Initia hymnorum*, 1:235; PaR, p. 152; PaV, p. 75. This also occurs as an automelon in early Slavonic liturgical books. See H. Rothe, ed., *Incipitarius liturgischer Hymnen in ostslavischen Handschriften des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 2008), 3:545, no. 14563.

then gradually become communal offices. We see this in the Slavonic sources, with Type I and Type II sources lacking Mid-Hours and Type III and Type IV sources containing Mid-Hours. However, the Mid-Hours in these sources differ in their selection of psalms from comparable Greek sources.

Among the Slavonic sources, the Yaroslavl Horologion is unique in that it contains Minor Hours rather than Mid-Hours. Since the structure of these Minor Hours agrees more with the structure of the canonical Hours than with the structure of the Mid-Hours, it seems that the Yaroslavl Horologion is derived from a Slavonic Studite horologion without Mid-Hours to which Minor Hours have been added, rather than from a horologion with Mid-Hours to which even more Mid-Hours were added. In this the Yaroslavl Horologion captures a certain stage in the

development of devotional practices outside of the canonical Hours where the Mid-Hours were not yet communal, but private devotional offices were already part of a monastic rule.

Horologia with a twenty-four-hour cursus do occur in the Byzantine Rite, but the known Greek sources have a completely different selection of psalms at the Minor Hours. It is quite likely, therefore, that the Yaroslavl Horologion reflects a local attempt to adapt a typical Slavonic Studite horologion to the needs of hourly private cell prayer. The translation of a now-lost Greek prototype seems less likely, given that no comparable distribution of psalms has been identified in the Greek sources, including among the sources related to the Studion Monastery. This means that of the existing scholarly approaches, the conclusion of Speranskii, that the Yaroslavl Horologion is derived

from a horologion composed by St. Cyril of Turov and intended for private cell prayer, appears the most accurate. As such, the Yaroslavl Horologion does not reflect Studite usage directly. However, the hymnography and prayers used in the Yaroslavl Horologion are not unique, but have analogues in Greek or other Slavonic sources, so it would be accurate to say that an East Slavic author (perhaps St. Cyril of Turov) did not compose the horologion, but rather selected the psalms, hymns, and prayers and arranged them into a twenty-four-hour structure.

The hymns and prayers in the Yaroslavl Horologion derive from a variety of sources. A large number have been selected from among hymns and prayers used at the Hours and Mid-Hours in the Slavonic Studite horologia. It is possible that these prayers have a Studite origin, and during the subsequent stages of the development of the Byzantine horologion, they came to be replaced with the prayers of a Palestinian origin that occur in the modern Byzantine Rite. Some of the prayers of the modern Byzantine Rite already appear in the horologion Harvard, Houghton Library, Greek 3,⁶⁴ so this process was probably occurring in Constantinopolitan monastic worship already at the beginning of the twelfth century, while the more archaic practice is still recorded in Slavonic sources through the early fifteenth. The fact that the prayers from the cathedral “asmatic office” are generally absent from the Slavonic Studite horologia indicates, furthermore, that the cathedral and monastic daily offices existed as separate entities at this stage. On the other hand, the exchange of prayers between cathedral and monastic practice could exist at the level of private cell prayer,⁶⁵ as is seen from the Yaroslavl Horologion, where one of the cathedral prayers is placed at the Seventh Hour, a clearly private office. It is possible that

the no longer extant Hours could have contained other prayers from the cathedral rite as well.


A certain number of additional prayers have been borrowed from other liturgical or didactic sources. With the exception, perhaps, of one prayer attributed in the manuscript to St. Ambrose, there is no evidence of a Latin influence on our source, despite the conclusions of Raevskii and Bedina. Rather, the devotional prayers are Byzantine Greek in origin with the exception of one Slavonic prayer of confession (perhaps of a Bavarian origin) known already in the Euchologium Sinaiticum. It is possible that these prayers originally came into the Slavonic tradition via the psalter, rather than the horologion, as we have seen that some of the prayers in the Yaroslavl Horologion occur in comparable Slavonic psalters as prayers after a cathisma. A closer investigation of Slavonic psalters may reveal more obvious connections, but for now this is not possible because we lack a comprehensive listing of the hymns and prayers found in Slavonic psalters comparable to the work undertaken by Parpulov for the Greek Byzantine psalters.

On the whole, the Slavonic Studite-Alexis Typicon has been fairly well studied, and so we have a fairly good understanding of the structure of Slavic worship between the late eleventh and late fourteenth centuries, the corpus of Slavonic liturgical books, and their relationship with the Greek sources. Numerous questions remain, however, about daily worship and private devotion in Slavia Orthodoxa during that period, and these can be answered only with a comprehensive study of the Slavonic Studite horologion and the Slavonic psalter. The Yaroslavl Horologion is one such curious source that testifies to private devotional practices in Russia during the period of the usage of the Studite-Alexis Typicon.

64 Anderson and Parenti, *Byzantine Monastic Office*, 114, 122, 126.

65 Some of the prayers of the “asmatic office” are also found as prayers after cathismata in the psalter portion of Harvard, Houghton Library, Gr. 3. See: Anderson and Parenti, *Byzantine Monastic Office*, 280.

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Appendix

Prayer of the Eighth Hour^a

YAROSLAVL HOROLOGION, FOLS. 11R–13V

[fol. 11r] ГИ́ ІСѢ ХѢ ІМА ТВОЕЪ ПРИЗЫВАЮ· ТВОИМЪ ИМЕНЕМЪ ЖИВУ· И ТВОИМЪ ИМЕНЕМЪ|| [fol. 11v] ПРЕБЫВАЮ· ТЕБѢ СЯ ПРЕДАЮ И ВСЮ ЖИЗНЬ МОЮ· ТЫ ПО СВОЕИ ВОЛИ СТВОРИ ЕЖЕ ХОЩЕШИ ТЫ МОЕ ПРОШЕНИЕ ВѢСИ ІАКО ПРЕДЪ ТОБОЮ ГИ́ ВСЕ ПОХОТѢНІЕ МОЕ ІЕСТЬ· ТЫ НАУЧАЛО МОЕ И СКВЕРШЕНИЕ· ТЫ ИЗБАВИТЕЛЬ МОИ И СПСІТЕЛЬ· ТЫ СИЛА МОЯ И ПОМОЩНИКЪ МОИ· ТЫ МА БѢДЪ НОУЖНЫХЪ ИЗБАВИШИ· ТЫ МА Ѡ ВРАГѢ НЕВИДИМЫХЪ ЗАСТОУПИШИ· ТЫ МА ПОКРЫШИ [!] Ѡ ВСЕГО ЗЛА НАХОДЯЩАГО НА МА· ТЫ МА Ѡ ЗА||ВІСТИ [fol. 12r] ВРАЖИИ ИЗБАВИ· ТЫ МА Ѡ НЕНАВИСТІИ УЛѢВЬСКИХЪ ЗАЩИЩАЕШИ· ТЫ МА ВОЛНЫХЪ И НЕВОЛНЫХЪ^b ГРѢХЪ ПРАЩАЕШИ· ТЫ МОЮ ПЛОТЬ Ѡ ВСАКЪНА СКВЕРЬНЫ^c ѠЦѢЩАЕШИ· ТЫ МОЮ ДШЮ ТЕМНОЮЮ ПРОСВѢЩАЕШИ· ТЫ МОИ ОУМЪ РАЗОУМОМЪ КОРИШИ· ТЫ МОЯ ОУДЫ Ѡ ЗЛЫХЪ ДѢЛЪ ОУКЛАНАЕШИ ТЫ МА Ѡ ВСЕІА ПРЕЛЪСТИ СКОБОДИ· ТЫ МА СВОЕГО РАБА И СЛОУЖИТЕЛА СТВОРИ· ТЫ|| [fol. 12v] МОЕ ТѢЛО НА МЛТВОУ ВСТАВЛАЕШИ· ТЫ МОИ ѠУИ СПОДОБИ К ТЕБѢ ВЗІРАТИ· ТЫ МОИ РОУЦѢ НАОУИ К ТЕБѢ ПРОСТИРАТИ· ТЫ МОЕГО СРДЦА МЫСЛЬ ГОРѢ ВЪ СВОИ СВѢТѢ ПРАВИШИ· ТЫ МА ИЦѢЛАЕШИ Ѡ РАНѢ ДЫАВОЛЪ· ТЫ МОЯ ВРАГЫ НЕВИДИМЫА ВСЕГДА Ѡ МЕНЕ ПРОГОНИШИ· ТЫ МОЕІА ХОУДОСТИ НЕ ПРЕЗРИШИ· ІАКО НИУТОЖЕ СОУЩЕ ВЪ УЛѢЦѢХЪ· ТЫ ВСЕ МНѢ ДОБРО ДАРОВА В СЕИ ЖИЗНИ· И В ОНОИ|| [fol. 13r] ѠБѢЩА· ТЫ МИ ПРЕДЪЛОЖИ ПОКАІАНИЕ И ПРОЩЕНИЕ И СПСІТИ МА ѠБѢЩА· Ѡ УТО ТИ ВЪЗДАМЪ ЗА ВСЕ ЕЖЕ МИ ІЕСИ ВЪЗДАЛЪ И ДАТИ ХОЩЕШИ· А НЕ ИМАМЪ ДОБРА НИУТОЖЕ ТЕБѢ ВЪЗДАТИ· ТЫ САМЪ ГИ́ ІСѢ ХѢ· ПОДАИ ЖЕ МИ СИЛОУ И ВЛАСТЬ ТВОЕІА ВОЛА· БЕС ТЕБѢ БО НЕ ОУМѢЮ НИ МОГОУ УТО СЪТВОРИТИ· ДА БОУДЕТЬ ВОЛА ТВОІА [ІА]КО НА НѢСИ И НА ЗЕМЛИ· ТВОІА МАТЬ ТВОІА ШЕДРОСТЬ ТВОІА ПОМОЩЬ ТВОЕ СПСѢНІЕ· ТВОІА ВѢРА|| [fol. 13v] ЛЮБЫ И БЛАГДѢ· ТВОІА СЛАВА УСТЬ И ДЪРЖАВА ТВОЕ ЦРЬСТВИЕ· ТЕБѢ ПОКЛАНАНИЕ И СЛЪЖЕНИЕ· ТЕБѢ ВСА МЛТВЫ ВСТАЮТЪ СЯ· ТЕБѢ ГИ́ ІСѢ ХѢ ІЕДИНОУАДЫИ СНѢ БЖИИ ВСА СЛАВА И ХВАЛА· И ПѢ ПОЮТЪ СЯ· НА НѢСИ И НА ЗЕМЛИ· КЪ ІЕДИНОМУ БЖТѢ СОУЩІОУОУМОУ КОУПНО· СЪ БЕЗЪНАЧАЛЬНЫМЪ ѠЦЕМЪ ВСЕДЕРЖИТЕЛЕМЪ· И СЪ ПРЕСТЫМЪ И БЛАГЫМЪ И ЖИВОТВОРАЩИМЪ ДХМЪ ТВОИМЪ ВСЕГДА І НЫНА· И ПРИСНО ВЪ ВѢКЫ :—

O Lord Jesus Christ, upon your name I call, by your name I live, and by your name I abide. Unto you I commit also my whole life. Do with me whatever you desire according to your will. You know my petition, because before you, O Lord, is all my desire. You are my beginning and my end, my deliverer and my savior, my strength and my protection. You deliver me from grievous misfortunes, you protect me from invisible enemies. You preserve me from every evil that comes upon me—deliver me from the envy of the enemy. You protect me from the hatred of men, you forgive me my sins voluntary and involuntary, you cleanse my flesh from every defilement, you enlighten my darkened soul, you nourish my mind with understanding, you keep my members from evil deeds. Deliver me from every deception, make me your servant and minister. You arouse my body to prayer—make my eyes worthy to look upon you, teach my hands to stretch forth toward you. You guide the thoughts of my heart on high toward your light. You heal me from the wounds of the devil. You always drive away my invisible enemies from me, you do not despise my wretchedness, for I am nothing among men. You have granted me every good thing in this life and promised it in the other. You have offered unto me repentance and forgiveness and promised to save me. O, what shall I render to you for all the things that you have rewarded me [Ps. 115:3] and will reward me? For I have no good thing to offer unto you. But yourself, O Lord Jesus Christ, grant me strength and the power of your will, for without you I do not know how and cannot do anything. Let your will be on earth as it is in heaven [Matt. 6:10]. Yours is mercy, yours is compassion, yours is help, yours is salvation, yours are faith, love and grace. Yours are glory, honor, and dominion. Yours is the kingdom. To you belong worship and adoration. To you is offered every prayer. To you, Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, belong all glory and praise, and to you hymns are sung in heaven and on earth—to you who exists in one Godhead, together with the Father without beginning, the almighty, and with your all-holy, and good, and life-creating Spirit, always, now and ever, and for the ages.

a A Greek analogue to this prayer has not been identified. In the manuscript, the prayer is entitled **МО СТГО АМЪЕРСИИ**. Previously edited in A. I. Sobolevskii, “Neskol’ko redkikh molitv iz russkogo sbornika XIII veka,” *IzvORJaS* 10.4 (1905): 72–73. Edited here with a translation in the hope that this will aid in identifying the prayer.

b The manuscript reads **НЕВОЛНЫХЪ**.

c The manuscript reads **СКВЕРЬНЫ**.

Prayer of the Tenth Hour^a

YAROSLAVL HOROLOGION, FOLS. 26R–28R.

[fol. 26r] Гѣ ꙗсѣ хѣ спсѣтелю нашъ· скровище бл҃гыхъ· даи же ми покаѣние свершено· стаа трїе гѣ бѣ всемогын тебѣ боудоу исповѣданъ всѣхъ грѣхъ моихъ· и моего лихаго створеннѣ· все еже колиждо излѣха лихомыслихъ· гл҃омъ или дѣломъ или помышлениемъ· все еже а||зъ [fol. 26v] помню· и ꙗже свѣдѣи створи хъ и несвѣдѣи· ноужео и не ноужео· спаши или бдѣи· и лихоклатѣи и лѣжа помышленнѣ· неправѣи поустоши дѣла любодѣиани ꙗже до створи хъ· излѣха въ ꙗдени и въ пити· и не въ праведнѣ спани· но молю ти са гѣ бѣ мои стаа трїе· да бы ты рауилъ животъ и мѣтъ дати мнѣ· да изъ предѣ [!]^c твоима ѡуима непосрамле||нъ [fol. 27r] боуду· да и азъ и ѡцѣ на семь свѣтѣ покаю са· и достоинно покаѣние имѣти могоу ꙗко щедрѣты твоѣ соудѣ· вѣси ма вѣдѣ· гѣ всемогын бѣ боуди мнѣ помощникъ и защитникъ· и боуди ми давѣи силоу и премоудрѣсть· праведнынъ смыслъ ꙗ доброу колею и правоу колею на твою слоужбею· гѣ ты єдинъ на свѣтѣ приде грѣшнынъ избавитъ· боуди ми спсѣи и изба||ви [fol. 27v] ма хѣ снѣ бѣи· ꙗкоже ты хоцѣши и мѣтѣи увѣколюбеу ꙗкоже ты любѣиши· сътвори съ мѣною рабомъ твоимъ мѣтъ· гѣ мѣтѣи бѣ нашѣ· ты рауи нынѣ помощи рабоу твоємю· имѣ· ты бо єдинъ вѣси гѣ· какыма моѣ бѣды соудѣ въ твоѣ же милованиѣ гѣ· предаю азъ мое срдѣце и мою мыслъ· и мои жить [!]^d и мои словеса· ѡложѣ оубо мое дѣло коньудѣи гѣ и твою мѣтъ ꙗви въ|| [fol. 28r] мнѣ грѣшнымъ рабѣ твоємю· ꙗко та славати всѣ силы неспѣи и тебѣ славоу всылаемъ ѡцю и сноу и стѣмоу дх҃оу·

O Lord, Jesus Christ, our savior, treasury of good things, grant me complete repentance. O Holy Trinity, Lord God almighty, unto you shall I confess all of my sins and my evil actions, all the evil things that I have thought, in word or deed or thought, all things that I remember and that I have done, consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily, asleep or awake, false oaths, and lies, and evil thoughts due to vanity and fornication, whatever I have wrought, and excess in food and drink and inappropriate sleep.

But I pray to you, O Lord, my God, Holy Trinity: deign to grant me life and mercy so that I also may be without condemnation before your eyes, so that I also would repent in this life, and would obtain a worthy repentance according to your mercy.

You know me, O Master. O Lord, almighty God, be my helper and protector, grant unto me strength and wisdom and righteous intention together with good will and a righteous will for your service. O Lord, you alone came into the world to deliver sinners. Be unto me a savior and deliver me, O Christ, Son of God, as you will and as you desire, you who are merciful and a friend of man. Show mercy unto me, your servant, O Lord, our merciful God. Come now to help your servant Name, for you alone know, O Lord, how great are my calamities. Unto your mercy, O Lord, I commit my heart and my mind and my life and my words. Having remitted [my sins], O Lord, make perfect my deeds and reveal your mercy in me, your sinful servant. For all the powers of heaven glorify you and unto you do we send up glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

a The first line of the prayer comes from a prayer by John of Dalyatha attributed to St. Isaac of Nineveh (see above). Beginning with the words **гѣ бѣ всемогын тебѣ боудоу исповѣданъ**, this is the penitential prayer that first occurs as the second prayer of Confession in the Euchologium Sinaiticum (see Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 208–16).

b Here the text must have been corrupted; the Euchologium Sinaiticum has **колиждо сътвори хъ** (see Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 211–12).

c Possibly, we should read **да и азъ предѣ**. Alternatively, this could be read as **да изпредѣ**, as in later Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian vernacular. I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing this usage to my attention.

d This form is obscure (see R. Avanesov, ed., *Slovar' drevnerusskogo iazyka [XI–XIV vv.]*, 10 vols. [Moscow, 1988–2000], 3:257, 267), and so perhaps we should read **животъ**, as in the Euchologium Sinaiticum (see Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, 215). However, a feminine form **жить** is attested (see F. Miklosich, ed., *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, rev. ed. [Vienna, 1862–1865], 199).

Prayer of the Eleventh Hour^a

YAROSLAVL HOROLOGION, FOLS. 32R–36R

[fol. 32r] ОУҢЫ МНѢ ГРѢШНИКОУ УТО ѠЖИДАЕШЬ ѠКАНЫНА ДѢША МОЕЯ. ОУҢЫ МНѢ ОУМИЛЕНОУ. КАКО ОУҢО СЫН ѠБРАЩЮСА АЗЪ ГРѢШНЫН ТАМО. КЫН ЛИ МИ БОУДЕТЬ ѠВѢТЪ КЪ СОУДИН-КОЕ ЛИ|| [fol. 32v] ДАМЪ СЛОВО Ѡ ГРѢСѢХЪ МОИХЪ. ОУҢЫ МНѢ ГРѢШНОМОУ ѠКАННОУ ѠСКВЕРЬНЕНОУ. СТЕНАНИА БО НѢ ВЪ МНѢ ТАКОВАГО. СЛЕЗНЫНА СИЛЫ ТАКЫ ВЪ МНѢ НѢ ДА ОУМОЛЮ СЕБѢ СОУДИЮ. ПОКАНИИА НЕ ИМАМЪ. МАСТНА ЖЕ НИКАКОА ЖЕ БЕЗЛОБИЕ И КРОТОСТЬ Ѡ МЕНЕ ОУДАЛИСА МАТѢА ИСПРОСТА ЛЮБѢВЕ НЕ ИМАМЪ. ОУҢЫ МНѢ УТО СТОРОЮ ОУМИЛЕНТЫН ѠСКВЕРЬНЕНТЫН. НЕ ВѢДѢ КО||МЪ [fol. 33r] ПРИКЛОНИЮСА ДА СПСЕНА БОУДЕТЬ ДѢША МОА. ѠДЕЖЮ МОЮ ѠСКВЕРНИХЪ. КРѢЩЕНИЕ ѠМРАУИХЪ. СРДЦЕ ѠТАГЪУИХЪ. ѠБЫАДЕНИЕМЪ И ПЬАНЕСТВОМЪ ЗЕМЛЮ ѠСКВЕРНИХЪ УҢЫ МНѢ ГРѢШНОМОУ УТО СТОРОЮ НЕ ВѢДѢ. ѠУИ МОИ СМРАДЪ ВИДИТА ДѢЛЪ МОИХЪ. ЛИЦЕ МОЕ СТОУДА ИСПОЛНИСА. ОУШИ МОИ НА ПѢСНИ БѢСОВѢСКИНА ОУВЕРЪЗОШАСА. ѠБОУХАНИЕ ТРѢБѢ ИЕСТЬ БЛГОКО||НАНИА. [fol. 33v] ОУСТА РАЗВЕРЪЗУЮТСА НА ѠБЫАДЕНИЕ И КЛАТЪВОУ. ДА ОУҢЫ МНѢ ГРѢШНОМОУ ѠКАННОМОУ УТО СТОРОЮ РОУЦѢ МОИ ѠБРАЩАЮТСА НА ГРѢХЪ. ТѢЛО МОЕ ВСЕ ОУСТРЕМЛЯЕТСА ВАЛАТИСА ВЪ ТИМѢ И ВЪ КАЛѢ И ВЪ СМРАДНЫХЪ ДѢЛѢХЪ. И ВЪЗВѢШЕНИЕ ИМЪИ НА МОУЖЕСКЪ ПОЛЪ. ЗЛОЕ ИЗВОЛЕНИЕ МОЕ ЖЕЛАЕШЬ МАКЪНА ПОСТЕЛА. КОРЬМАНИА ПОДОБЕНЪ БЛОУДЪ ЛЮБОДѢНИИ||Е [fol. 34r] ѠБЫАДЕНИЕ. НЪ ѠХЪ МНѢ БЕЗАКОННОУ И ѠСЛАБЛЕНЪ И ѠСКВЕРННОУ. КАМО ИДОУ НЕ ВѢДѢ ЛЮТѢ МНѢ СКВЕРЪНАКОУ И ОУБОГОУ. ѠХЪ МНѢ ОУТРОУЖЕНОУ КТО МА ИЗБАВИТЬ Ѡ ѠГНА ѠНОГО ГОРЬКАГО. КТО ЛИ ИЗБАВИТЬ МА Ѡ ТЫМЪ ѠНОА КРОМѢШЬНАА. КТО ЛИ ИЗБАВИТЬ МА Ѡ СКРЕЖЪТА ЗОУЕНАГО. НО ГОРЕ МНѢ МЕРЪЗЪКОМОУ И ВСЕГО СМРАДА ИСПОЛНЕНОУ. БЛГО|| [fol. 34v] БЫ МНѢ АЩЕ БЫХЪ СА НЕ РОДИЛЪ. ОУҢЫ МНѢ КОЕА СЛАВЪ ЛИШЕНЪ ХОЦЮ БЫТИ ѠМРАУЕНТЫН. ОУҢЫ МНѢ КОЮ СЛАКОУ КОЮ УҢСТЬ. КАКО ѠВѢЩАЮ. КАКОУ ЛИ РАДОСТЬ КОЛИКО СВѢДѢЛЬСТВО [!]^b. ХОЦЮ ПОГОУЕТИ ПОНЕЖЕ РАБОТАЮ ГРѢХОУ. Ѡ ДѢШЕ ѠКАНЫНА. КДЕ НЫНѢ ПРООУВЕРЗЕНИЕ. КДЕ НЫНѢ СОУТЬ ИАЖЕ ИЕСИ ИСПРАВИЛА. КДЕ ТИ СОУТЬ ДОБРИИ ПРАВИ. ѠХЪ ТОБѢ ѠКАНЫНА И|| [fol. 35r] НЕУТИВАМЪ. КДЕ ТИ ХОЩЕШЬ БЫТИ ѠБИТЕЛЬ. ВЪ ДНѢ ГОРДЫН. БОЛЕ^c ЖЕ БЛГО УТО СЪТВОРИЛА ИЕСИ. ДОСТОИННО ОУГОЖЕНИА БОУ КАКО ХОЩЕШИ ВЪКВЕРЖЕНА БЫТИ ВЪ ПЕЦЬ. ѠУИМА ОУМИЛЕНАМА ЗРѢТИ. ОУ ЛЮТѢ ПЛАУХЪ И СКРЕЖЕТЪ ЗОУЕНТЫН. ГОРЬКОЮ СВѢСТИЮ ѠСОУЖЕНА ХОЩЕШИ БЫТИ ПРЕДЪ БМЪ. СКВЕРНАА ДѢШЕ

Woe unto me a sinner, what awaits my wretched soul? Woe unto me, a wretch, how shall I, a sinner, appear there? What shall be my defense before the Judge? What word shall I utter concerning my sins? Woe unto me, a sinner, accursed, defiled. For I have no lamentation, no power of tears that is sufficient to entreat the mercy of the Judge. I have no repentance, neither any mercy. Kindness and meekness have departed from me, prayer has become vain and I have no love. Woe is me, what shall I do, wretched and defiled? I know not what to grasp so that my soul may be saved. I have defiled my garment, I have darkened my baptism, I have made my heart heavy, I have defiled the earth through gluttony and drunkenness. Woe is me, a sinner, I know not what I shall do! My eyes behold the stench of my works, my countenance has been filled with shame, my ears have been opened to the hearing of demonic songs, my smell is in want of a sweet aroma, my mouth opens for gluttony and cursing. Yea, woe is me, a sinner, accursed, what shall I do? My hands are turned toward sin, my entire body seeks to wallow in mire, mud, and filthy works; I am aroused for the male sex. My evil desire wishes for a soft bed and, likewise, for a soft way of life, for fornication, adultery, and gluttony. O, woe is me, lawless, and weak, and defiled! Where shall I go, I know not. Woe is me, defiled and poor! Woe is me, exhausted! Who shall deliver me from that bitter fire, who shall deliver me from that pitch darkness, who shall deliver me from the gnashing of teeth? But woe is me, vile and completely filled with stench! It would have been better if I had not been born [Mark 14:21]. Woe is me, of what glory will I be deprived, having become all darkened! Woe is me, of what glory, of what honor! What defense will I give? Of what joy, of what radiance will I deprive myself because I am a servant of sin? O, my wretched soul! Where is now your contrition, where are now the things that you have corrected, where are your virtues? Woe is you, wretched and ungodly! Where will you find a place of rest on that frightening day? For what good thing have you wrought that is worthy of pleasing God? How will you be cast into the furnace and behold with contrite eyes grief, and lamentation, and gnashing of teeth? For by your bitter conscience you will be condemned before God. O unclean soul that without ceasing desires after

a The prayer is found in the vita of St. Niphon of Constantia (BHG 1371z). For the Greek text of the prayer, see Rystenکو, *Materiiali z istorii*, 104–5. The Slavonic translation in thirteenth-century manuscripts of the vita differs from the text in the Yaroslavl Horologion. See *ibid.*, 309–11.

b Evidently a corruption of СВѢДѢЛЬСТВО (Greek: φαιδρότητα); see *ibid.*, 105, 310.

c The manuscript reads **БОЛЕ** (Greek: ἄρα).

Prayer of the Eleventh Hour—continued

иже беспрестани желаяши на гнои· и на тиноу грѣховноую·
и присно|| [fol. 35v] ѿбыдению работаюши· ѿхъ тобѣ
беззаконна· и истыянына· кацѣ срамѣ явишися хоу·
кацѣма ли ѿумиа видиши стою и сладкоу то лице· глї
глї дїе вижѣ страшна· ѿна уюдеса· иакоже хоцетъ гї
сконьвати· рци дїе имаша ли достоинаа свѣсти своена·
славъ ѿноа како ли хоцеша тамо внити ѿскверниши
бѣственоу крїпїю· и тоже [!]^d в та||инѣ [fol. 36r] приа· ѿ
горе тобѣ тогда прескверна· наследити имаша вѣунъи
ѿгнѣ и кде ти тогда беззаконїе· и владацїиа та на то· да та
избаватъ· гї избави дїю мою ѿ ѿгна и скрежѣта зоуенаго
и ѿ тмы грознѣа мѣтвми престѣна владѣца нашеа бѣа
и приснодѣца мїна· и стѣ аплѣ· и стѣхъ пррѣк· и всѣхъ
стѣхъ· и нына и присно вѣ вѣкы вѣкомъ аминь··

d Probably a corruption of *иже* (Greek: *δ*).

purulence and the mire of sin and ever is a servant of gluttony!
Woe is you, lawless and corrupt! In what shame will you
appear before Christ? With what eyes will you behold his holy
and sweet countenance? Speak, speak, O soul! Behold those
terrible wonders that the Lord will accomplish! Say, O soul,
do you have anything worthy on your conscience, for how will
you enter into that glory, having defiled the divine baptism in
which you had been initiated? Woe is you then, defiled soul,
for you will inherit eternal fire! What use then shall be unto
you lawlessness and those who bid you to it that they may
deliver you? O Lord, deliver my soul from fire, the gnashing
of teeth, and the terrible darkness by the prayers of our most
holy lady the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary, and the holy
apostles, and the holy prophets, and all the saints, both now
and ever, unto ages of ages. Amen.

Prayer of the Twelfth Hour^a

YAROSLAVL HOROLOGION, FOLS. 41v–51r

[fol. 41v] Гї бѣ мои великїи страшнїи преславнїи·
всеа видимѣа и разоумнѣа твари· сдѣтель и вѣдѣа хранаи
завѣтъ твои и мѣтъ твою любящїмъ та· и съблюдоущїмъ
твоа воленїа· и нына и всегда бл҃годарю та· всѣхъ ради
бывшихъ на мнѣ бл҃годѣанїи твоихъ видимыхъ же и
невидимыхъ· ѿ роженїа моего и до нына·|| [fol. 42r]
хваляю и славлю и величаю та· ѿ нїхъ же єси на мнѣ
оудивилъ мѣтъ твою· и щедроты твоа примы ма ѿ
оутробы мѣре моего· и вѣ въсьмь промышь· съхранѣ
же и оуправлѣ волею иже ѿ мнѣ· тѣкмо єдиноа ради
бл҃гости и улюблюенїа твоего· иео недостойнаго ми
радѣма· и страстнаго не презрѣлъ єси моего смѣренїа·
улюблюенїаго же ради твоего и мѣти||внаго [fol. 42v]
бл҃годѣанїа· промышлѣа не сталталъ єси [!]^b· и до
старости мѣрѣства бѣ мои не ѿстави· хѣ ісе доброу

O Lord my God, great, awesome and glorious, creator and
master of all visible and intelligent beings, who keeps your
covenant and your mercy toward those who love you and keep
your commandments: now and always I thank you for all your
benefits, visible and invisible, that have been given unto me
from my birth even until now. I praise, glorify and magnify
you for all the things by which you have revealed your mercy
and your benefits, having accepted me from my mother's
womb and foreseen all things and preserved and guided all as
is proper for me, only for the sake of your goodness and love
for man. For though I am unworthy and full of passions, you
did not despise my lowliness, but for the sake of your human-
loving and merciful benevolence, did not cease to provide for
me. Even until venerable old age, O my God, do not forsake
me. O Christ Jesus, the beautiful name, my sweetness, my

a For the Greek text, see *Oratio secunda*, attributed (spuriously)
to St. John Chrysostom (CPG 4688): PG 63:923–28. In the man-
uscript, the prayer is entitled *мѣтва ст҃го иѡана златооустаго къ
гѡу ѿ сѣргїшенїхъ*.

b This word is otherwise unattested. The Greek reads *οὐ
διέλειπες*, and *διέλειπω* is typically translated as *престати*: see
I. Khristov, ed., *Gr"tsko-ts"rkovnoslavianski rechnik* (Mount
Athos, 2019).

Prayer of the Twelfth Hour—continued

има сладость моя и желание мое· и оупование мое·
взъѣхуи·вѣсѣ насъ ради и распатіе и смѣртъ претерпѣвъ·
и вса моудростию оустрои· исповѣдаю ти са ги бѣ
мои всѣмъ срѣцѣмъ моимъ· преклааню колѣнѣ телесныи
и дѣшевныи· || [fol. 43r] исповѣдаю ти вса грѣхы моя·
приклони оухо твоѣ ко мнѣ і оупоусти неустыи срѣца
моего· съгрѣшихъ беззаконеновахъ· прегрѣшихъ и
прогнѣвахъ тебе моего вѣдоу и питателя и бѣгодателя·
нѣ вещи злобы реуеныи и нереченыи· ꙗже не створихъ
словомъ и дѣломъ и помышленіемъ ꙗжеждѣ бо каѣтиса
ѡбѣщахъ· толма же в то же и в горшые зла въпадохъ
оу||добнѣ [fol. 43v] капламъ дождевнымъ иштеннымъ
быти· нежели моихъ грѣховъ множество превзидоша главоу
мою· ꙗко бремя тѣжко ѡтагѣтѣша на мнѣ беззаконіи
мои· ѡ оуности моеи и до нынѣ· неподобнымъ похотемъ
двери ѡверзхъ не вѣстагоуено· и вешиннымъ
оустремленіемъ себе предавъша· оубогоу мою дѣшо
страстьми неустыи||а ѡсквернихъ· [fol. 44r] и всако
ино беззаконіе и неправдоу сдѣлахъ ꙗже аще по уасти
въспоманоути въскоушю· погнѣть бо ма повѣсти дѣюща
лѣто· и не станеть ми на исповѣданіе время· нѣ понеже
вса свѣси самъ· нѣ бо твари оутаены предъ тобою· вса
же нага и ѡбѣявлена предъ ѡуми твоимъ соутъ что
же оубо къ свѣдѣшему вѣдѣтъ глѣти вѣдомаи имъ
съкроушають ми са|| [fol. 44v] срѣце и всь в недооумѣнии
глоубини погроужаю са· въспоминающе ꙗко толика и
такова съгрѣшихъ· ми понѣ маа что раскаянню пока[за]хъ
дѣла· и ближнѣи смѣрти предѣста покаани[и]а] же плода
никакоже того ради смоуцають ми са дѣла· въ болѣзни
ѣсть и оуныниа исполнѣ· помышляа бо и расоужая
в себе· никакоже себе къ ѡвѣтоу ѡбѣтаю· никимъ же
ѡбразомъ и||а [fol. 45r] кознию· имже быхъ въунаго ѡгна
гоньзюуахъ· аще бо праведникъ ꙗже спсѣтъ са грѣшнымъ
азъ кде аялю са· аще многими скорѣбьми цѣрствие
несноуе достоиннымъ наследити и оузъка дѣръ и скорѣбь
поутъ въводи в животъ· азъ како сладостраствоуоуа·
и неистовствѣаи коиноу спсѣнню сподоблю са· аще вса
правда уаѣуьска ꙗко рѣвище сквернаго неустыиа жены·
азъ же то||ама [fol. 45v] въ смрадѣннѣ тинѣ и неправдѣ
въ что вѣмѣню са· аще и ѡ праздынѣ словеси ѡвѣщати
предѣлѣжитъ· азъ же ѡ толицѣ грѣховъ покинѣтъ· кѣи
имамъ ѡвѣтъ оуѣы мнѣ дѣше такоа же на ны вѣмѣсти
хоудоуе житіе оудобъ бѣдноуе· въскорѣ миноуа· и къ
смѣрти оубо посылаа· въуно оубо грѣшнымъ моуѣннѣ·
ꙗкоже и праведнымъ цѣрствие· что оубо створю или что
сдѣю· в коуоу про||пасть [fol. 46r] себе вриноу· страшна
бо оубо смѣртъ паѣе же оубо грѣшникомъ· имъ же и люта
и страшна и по смѣрти сдѣваемаа· страшнѣе же ꙗже
въпасти в роуцѣ бѣ жива· ѡ него же нѣ изати могои· ꙗгда
оубо придетъ въ славу съ стѣыми своими ангѣлы ꙗкоже
въздати комоуждо по дѣломъ ꙗго· что азъ оумилени
тъгда створю срама исполненъ ѡ своѣмъ свѣсти ѡуаюмъ·

desire, my hope, who became human for our sake and suffered crucifixion and death, and fashioned all things in wisdom: to you, O Lord God, I confess with all my heart and bend my knees, both of body and soul. I confess to you all my sins: incline your ear unto me and remit the impurity of my heart. I have sinned, I have wrought iniquity. I have committed transgression, I have angered you, my master, nurturer, and benefactor. There is no evil deed, spoken or unspoken, that I have not done in word, deed, or thought. For whenever I have promised to repent, then I fell into the same and even more bitter evil. It is easier for the drops of rain to be counted than the multitude of my sins. They have gone over my head, they have pressed heavily upon me like a weighty burden [Ps. 38:4] from my youth even until now. For I have opened the doors to unnatural desires in an unbridled manner and, having submitted myself to the impulse of necessities, I have defiled my lowly soul through impure passions. All manner of other lawlessness and iniquity have I wrought that, even if I will, I could not remember in turn, for time will fail me to describe it and there will not be sufficient time for me to confess it. Yet since you know all things—for there is no thing hidden from before you, but all are naked and revealed before your eyes—what use is it to say to the knowing Master the things that he knows? My heart is crushed and I am entirely succumbed to the depths of distress, remembering how much and in what manner I have sinned and have not demonstrated even a little repentance. Death is coming near, but I have shown no fruits of repentance, therefore my soul is troubled, greatly in pain, and dejected. Considering and pondering within myself, I find nothing useful for my defense, nor any manner or contrivance that would allow me to escape from eternal fire—for if the righteous man is scarcely saved, where will I, a sinner, appear [1 Pet. 4:18]? And if the kingdom of heaven is inherited by the worthy through great affliction and the gate is narrow and the way is hard, that leads to life [Matt. 7:14], how shall I, lustful and licentious, ever be deemed worthy of salvation? And if all the righteousness of men is like the defiled rags of an impure woman, what shall I be reckoned, who am drowning in stinking mire and unrighteousness? For if it will be required to render account even for a careless word [Matt. 12:36], what defense will I provide, who am guilty of so many sins? Woe is me, O soul, how shall these things come to pass? For soon I will pass from this lowly and poor life and will be sent to death, where there awaits both eternal punishment for sinners and the kingdom for the righteous. What shall I do and what shall I accomplish? Into what abyss shall I hurl myself? For death is frightening, much more so for sinners, for whom also terrible and frightening are the things that come after death. Yet it is even more fearful to fall into the hands of the living God [Heb. 10:31], from whom no one will be able to deliver me. For when he will come in glory together with his holy angels

Prayer of the Twelfth Hour—continued

тѣсно ми ѿ всю||доу· [fol. 46v] ѿхъ мнѣ ѿ моихъ злыхъ
 что первое въсплачу· ѿ чѣмъ ли второе въздохну что
 въздыдаю· ѿ моужахъ ли бесконечныхъ· или еже ѿ
 бѣ разоучени· нѣма науахъ гл҃ати къ г҃у боу моемоу·
 азъ же есмь уервѣ а не улькѣ· поношение улькомъ
 оунижежение людемъ· дан же ми слово на ѿвержение
 оустомъ моимъ· дана матѣоу молащемоу сѧ· яко ѿ тебе
 всако дание бл҃го|| [fol. 47r] и всакъ даръ свершенъ свѣше
 естъ сходан ѿ тебе съвѣтомъ· да не (возъ)врацѣюсѧ
 посрамленъ и смѣренъ· нѣ положу ихъже надѣяхъ сѧ·
 и тако ѿидоу радостѧ сѧ въ извѣщение ср҃дца моего· яко
 предъ страшнымъ твоимъ предѣстомъ соудимъ· яко
 прѣутьхъ твоихъ ногъ касаше сѧ· тако молю и мнѣ сѧ
 дѣю и припадоу· съкроушеномъ ср҃дцемъ и смѣреномъ·
 ѿуисти мѧ грѣ||шнаго· [fol. 47v] и стрѣстнаго и смѣренаго
 ѿ ст҃го жилища твоего· на мое ѿканство призри и на
 матѣоу оубогаго раба своего· имѧ· и не презри мене·
 ѿслаби ми да ѿтѣдоху и поую· преже даже не ѿидоу
 и ктому не боуду· яко улькѣ съгрѣшихъ· яко бѣ прости
 мѧ· ты бо вси вѣдо оудобѣ прѣлести моея· и улькѣскаго
 естества· и яко прилежитъ помышление мое на зло
 ѿ оуности моея· помѧ||ни [fol. 48r] яко перьстъ есмь
 помани яко ты единъ утѣ и прѣутѣ и бескверненъ· азъ
 же и дш҃ю и тѣломъ каленъ· помани ѿ вѣка щедроты
 и мѧти твоѧ· и не ѿсоуди мене безаконии моими ни по
 грѣхомъ же моимъ въздаи|| [!] ми вѣдѣ бо множество
 грѣховъ моихъ· яко много и числа не имѧ· но вѣдѣ
 и поучиноу ульколюбия твоего яко неизмѣрена и
 непобѣдима· ты бо еси г҃и агнецъ бж҃ии· взе||мѧи [fol. 48v]
 грѣхы всего мира· сн҃ъ ѿтѣ пришедъ въ миръ грѣшныхъ
 сп҃сѣтъ· ѿ нихъ же первыи есмь азъ· помилоуи мѧ мативе
 тварь свою· оуцѣдри мѧ щедролубье създание свое·
 не гноуши сѧ строупѣвъ моихъ грѣховныхъ· мене
 ради распатие претерпѣвъ· яко толика твоея мѧти и
 ульколюбия сила· яко ѿ смрадѣна тины бисеръ створить·
 и зане быти сн҃оу геѡнѣ цр҃ьствию сѧ претва||рмятъ·
 [fol. 49r] и еще молю дан же ми бл҃гѣ разоума моемоу
 недостойнествоу г҃и· вѣдѣти тебе оугодна· и мнѣ полезна
 и не токмо разоумѣти но и творити· не въслѣдовати
 и не въсхитити сѧ поустошнымъ· не тычеславно
 смѣриши· смѣрити сѧ смѣреннымъ· и съ стражущими
 пострадади· и съгрѣшающимъ ѿпоуцати· вѣдѣ бо яко
 аще не ѿпоуцю не ѿпоуститъ ми сѧ· или|| [fol. 49v] не
 помилоуи не помилованъ боуду· того ради молю сѧ
 прости мѧ и всѧ съгрѣшающа къ мнѣ· любящимъ же
 насъ ѿмысти бѣтѣми дарѣми твоими· и проуа ѿца и
 бр҃аю нашу феѡдосиѧ написавшаго матѣоу сию и всѧ

in order to render unto each according to his works, what shall I, a wretch, do, all filled with shame and accused by my conscience? I am burdened all around. Woe is me because of my evils! Where shall I begin my lamentation? About what shall I continue my sighing? Concerning what shall I weep? Of eternal punishment? Or about separation from God? Now I have taken upon myself to speak to the Lord my God [Gen. 18:27], but I am a worm, and not a man, a reproach of men, and scorn of the people [Ps. 21:6]. Grant me a word that my mouth may be opened, you who grants his petition to him that prays [1 Sam. 2:9], for every good endowment and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from [the Father] of lights [James 1:17]. Let me not be turned away, abased and humbled, but may I receive the things for which I have hoped and in this manner may I come away rejoicing in the certainty of my heart. For, as if standing before your fearful judgment seat, as if touching your most pure feet, thus I pray and beseech and fall prostrate, with crushed and humbled heart: cleanse me, a sinner, full of passions and abased. From your holy habitation look down upon me, the accursed one, and [receive] the prayer of your lowly servant Name, and do not forsake me. Spare me, that I may be refreshed and find rest, before I depart, and be no more [Ps. 38:13]. I have sinned as a man, forgive me as God. For you know the unsteadiness of my delusion and of human nature, [you know] that my mind is diligent toward evil from my very youth. Remember that I am dust, remember that you alone are pure and most-pure and without stain, while I am filthy in both soul and body. Remember your mercies and compassion from before the ages and do not condemn me according to my transgressions, neither render unto me according to my sins. For I know the multitude of my sins, that they are many and beyond number. Yet I know also the depths of your love for man, which is beyond measure and assail. For you, O Lord, are the Lamb of God who takes the sins of the world [John 1:29], the Son of the Father who came into the world to save sinners of whom I am chief [1 Tim. 1:15]. O merciful one, have mercy on me, your creation. O compassionate one, grant me compassion, your handiwork. Disdain not the sores of my sins, you, who endured crucifixion for my sake. For such is the power of your mercy and love for mankind that it fashions pearls out of stinking mire and turns him who was a son of Gehenna into a son of the Kingdom. Moreover I pray to you: grant me the grace to understand my unworthiness, O Lord, to know what is pleasing unto you and profitable for me, and not only to know, but also to do it; to not follow after or be led away by vanity, to be abased without vain glory and humbled with the

c In the manuscript, the prefix **возъ** is written above the text.

Prayer of the Twelfth Hour—continued

сестры· има· со мною· ꙗко· ꙗвѣколюбѣць· помилоуи^d· вса·
се· мое· испѣданіе· и· моленіе· ꙗко· и· кандило· прѣдъ·
тобою· да· исправить· сѧ·· покои· же· стѣи· влѣко· въ|| [fol. 50r]
свѣтъ· живыхъ· и· въ· жилищи· веселѣщихъ· сѧ· вса· преже·
ѡшѣдѣша· крѣтъ· ѡца· и· сѣрбѣю· нашею·· има· мужескъ·
полъ· и· женескъ· ꙗко· сѣгрѣшихомъ· но· не· ѡстоупихомъ· ѡ·
тебе·· ни· въздѣхомъ· роукъ· нашихъ· къ· боу· ꙗжемоу·· но·
тебе· познахомъ· истиннаго· бѧ·· и· в· та· въроуѣемъ· и· тебе·
кланѣемъ· сѧ· въ· трѣицѣ· единому· боу·· и· тебе· молимъ· сѧ·
и· на· та· спсѣніа· нашего|| [fol. 50v] въздохомъ· надежю·
помиаи· ма· бѣ· по· велицѣи· мѧти· твоѣи· и· спси· ма· въ·
нбснѣмъ· твоѣмъ· црѣствіи·· еи· гѣ· тако· да· боудетъ· матѣ·
твоѧ· на· насъ· оуповающихъ· на· та·· мнѡгаго· ради· твоѣго·
бесчисленнаго· блгосрдіѧ·· матѣами· преутѣна· влѣѣца· нашеѧ·
бѣа·· и· приснодѣѣа· мѣна· мѣре· твоѣѧ·· и· стѣхъ· нбнѣхъ·
и· мыслѣнѣхъ· твоихъ· силъ·· утѣнаго· твоѣго· прѣдѣтеуи||
[fol. 51r] и· крѣтъ· иѡана· і· стѣи· прѣхвалѣхъ· твоихъ· аплѣ·
и· стѣи· иѡана· златоустаго·· и· стѣхъ· ѡца· нашихъ· пахоміа·
ѡноуфріѧ·· савы·· ѧвѣфиміѧ·· феѡдора·· препдѣнаго· ѡца·
нашего· феѡдосіѧ·· афѡнасіѧ·· и· всѣхъ· стѣхъ· ѡ· въка·
оуѡжышихъ· ти· ꙗко· стѣи· и· покланѣемо· ꙗсть· има· твоѣ· ѡца·
и· сѣна· и· стѣи· дѣа· и· нѣна· и· присно· въ· въкы· въкомъ· аминь··

^d The edited Greek text of the *Oratio secunda* does not have this commemoration; it instead reads: τὸν δὲ πνευματικόν μου πατέρα, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, οὓς σὺ δέδωκας, εὐσπλαγγχε, κρίμασιν οἷς ἐπίστασαι σὺν ἐμοὶ φιλανθρώπως οἰκτείρήσας, ἐλέησον.

^e The following commemorations are absent from the edited Greek text of the *Oratio secunda*; it instead reads: πρεσβείαις τῆς . . . Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ νοερῶν δυνάμεων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων.

humble; to suffer with the suffering; to forgive the sinners, for I know that if I do not forgive, I shall not be forgiven, or that if I have no mercy, mercy will not be shown toward me.

Therefore I pray: forgive me and forgive those who have sinned against me; recompense also those who have shown love upon us with your bountiful gifts. Have mercy, O you who loves man, also upon the rest of our fathers and brethren, and Theodosius who recorded this prayer, and our sisters Name, who are with me. And this, my confession and prayer—let it be set forth as incense before you [Ps. 140:2]. Grant rest, O holy master, in the light of the living and in the habitation of those who rejoice to all of the Christians that have gone before us, our fathers and fellow brothers, Name, male and female, for we have sinned but have not forsaken you, nor have we spread out our hands to a strange god [Ps. 43:20], but we have come to know you, the true God, and we believe in you and worship you, one God in Trinity, and we pray to you, and we have set the hope of our salvation in you. Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great mercy [Ps. 50:1], and save me in your heavenly kingdom. Yea, O Lord, let your mercy be upon us we have hoped in you [Ps. 32:22], for the sake of your great and innumerable loving-kindness, through the prayers of our most pure lady the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary, your mother, and of your holy heavenly and noetic powers, of your honorable forerunner and baptizer John, of your holy and all-praised Apostles, of the holy John Chrysostom, of our holy fathers Pachomius, Onuphrius, Sabbas, Euthymius, Theodore, our venerable father Theodosius, Athanasius, and of all the saints who have pleased you from the ages, for holy and worthy of veneration is your name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.